

G. L. Shipley.

Animadversions

Upon a B O O K Entitled

*Inquisition for the Blood of our
late S O V E R A I G N, &c.*

AND

Upon the offence taken at it.

Wherein , in order to Peace,

The Ground, Reason and
End of our Wars are discovered :
The *Old Cause* stated and determi-
ned : The late *Insurrection* Anim-
adverted : And a way of Peace
propounded.

By *William Sedgwick.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for the Author, and are to be
sold in *St. Pauls Church-yard, Fleet-
street, and Westminster-Hall, 1661.*

Annals of the

History of the

Church of England

from the

Reformation

to the

present time

by

John

Wesley

and

Charles

Wesley

Printed for

the Author, and are to be

fold in St. Pauls Church-yard Fleet

Street, and Westminster-Hall, 1661.

AN EPISTLE,

To them that are offended at the In-
quisition; and to all that now suffer
for their opposing the present Govern-
ment.



Our offence and anger,
begot this Treatise: And
therefore it is *yours*; in-
tended for you: Not
only to remove the of-
fence, but to instruct you,
into a way of peace and love: Your
anger was the *Father* of it; but *love*
conceived it, and is its *Mother*: It be-
ing begotten of *anger* and *love*, you
may well expect both natures in it:
And must receive them both together,

for they cannot be separated. *Severity and kindness*, are one in their *Original and End*: They meet, in the present Providence of God upon you: They are bound up together in this little volume: If your minds be as large as it, or in any measure, suitable to your present condition, you will easily comprehend and digest both: If you cannot agree with some sharpness; you will neither agree with your selves, nor with God: For you have been, and are so, to others, and God is now so to you.

I write both *against* and *for* all: *Against* and *for* my self; *Against* and *for* you: And *against* and *for* your *adversaries*: Because there is some good, and evil in all: My quarrel is only at *malice*, which makes all the quarrels in the earth: And at that, because it destroys: If I meet with any, in that way of enmity and destruction, I do not forbear them: You will, I hope, find in the reading of it, that the root
and

and spring of it is *love*; the design of it, in all the parts of it, is to *unite* divided Parties; and the conclusion is *peace*.

I would gladly that you should have the honour, of being the first movers in, and seekers of peace: Your Profession of the Gospel and Kingdom of peace, should incline you to it: You have proved war, and it at last fails you: Your present sufferings press you, to meekness and patience: It is to me evident, and in this Book, I think demonstrated; that those good things you expected by war, you can obtain and inherit, only by love and peace, and in the good spirit of Jesus: And therefore I have endeavoured to search the roots of your state and standing in enmity, as deeply as I can: that they being slain, you may be free, to go forth from your present captivity, into largeness: and so into peace and deliverance.

There are two things which I suspect
A 4 may

may deny you the benefit of what I have written.

First, I doubt the things here written, may not, at least not in all parts, be fully and clearly understood: Because my mind having long travelled, in the pursuit of the reason and principles of things, lies at some distance, from mens ordinary apprehensions of things; and therefore may not be so readily conceived: I am sensible also, that by reason of my long retirement, there is a cloud upon my spirit, that I cannot yet come forth, with that evidence, that I would, and I believe shall: I know likewise, that mens understandings, live much abroad, in outward things, and are little conversant with the inward reason and spirit of things: And that at this time, your minds are like troubled waters, disturbed and not clear.

To remedy these defects, both in your selves and me, let me prevail with you, to read this small Treatise, with a little

little more then ordinary diligence and consideration.

I am sensible of the obscurity of the former Book, which made it so liable to mistakes: And have endeavoured all plainness here, even to coarseness, and have taken liberty, rather to write the same things again, then to be too short: Yet I doubt some parts of it may be vail'd to thee: If thou meet with any places that are so; Possibly the greatest treasure of truth may lie hid there: True wisdom yet lies deep, and is hardly found, hardly expressed, and hardly understood: If thou wilt dig for her, by a little study, she will reward thy pains: If therefore there be a curtain drawn, before any part, do but rouse up thy reason, and press in upon it, you may have admittance, by a little consideration and labour.

My second doubt is, lest you meeting with something, that may cross your opinion of your selves and way; you should turn away from the justice
and

and truth of reproof : But consider,
if you will hear nothing against you,
you can never come to know your
faults : If you will receive nothing,
but what agrees with your present ap-
prehensions, you must resolve never to
be wiser : If thou meetest with a
strange, different, or opposite notion to
thine own, consider, it is either true, or
false : If it be true, then it is a danger-
ous thing for thy soul, to refuse a truth,
and embrace a lie : For no man can be
happy but in truth : If it be false, do
but thoroughly examine it, and thou
wilt find the falshood of it, and then
it will be a great confirmation and en-
largement to truth in thy mind :
Therefore turn not from it, nor reject
it ; but rather search it and subdue it :
For no lie can long stand out, against
a true mind : If an error have gotten
some shew of reason, or truth, to cover
it, if it be, by a just mind searched
and tried ; that reason and truth, will
come over, to that just mind, and leave
the

the lie naked and destitute ; such conquests are very much to the advantage of truth : The experience I have of this thing, makes me love the exercise of opposition ; and to delight to read, above all things, those that are contrary to my judgement : For I constantly find, that things said and done against the truth, do as our Lord promised his Disciples : *It shall turn unto you for a testimony.*

I know and feel that sore travel is upon you ; *pangs have taken hold of you* : It is, that you may be born again, into a new state and life, more holy, large, merciful, and heavenly, then that wherein you have lived and acted : It is that, I labour with you for, in this Treatise : If you could once come to understand this design of God, in his present afflicting of you : That it is not to upbraid, much less to destroy, the Party or your persons, for your or others personal sins ; no, he pitties and forgives : But it is that carnal and corrupt state, of war, enmity, and destroying,

stroying, that is accursed of God : If
you could but discern this ; and turn
away from that fleshly, corrupted, and
now perished state ; you would quick-
ly find ease, rest and safety for your
souls ; and escape much of the guilt
and curse that yet sorely afflicts you :
It is the intent of this Treatise, to
bring you off from that ; and to shew
you a *more excellent way*. Your former
ministry is finished, that state is perish-
ed ; you must have a new one : Read
diligently, and you will find, here is an
entrance into that, which will not fail.

I know the prejudices you have a-
gainst me ; I know that there is weak-
ness in what I write ; both may disad-
vantage my work : I leave it to the Lord
of all hearts and spirits : The things
I have written, are I think just ; and it
is just I should publish them : The Law
of love and truth, in my mind, led me
to it, and upheld me in it ; and there-
fore I am satisfied in my self : And in
the righteousness, truth, and faithful-
ness of God, in whom I live and rest,

Yours W. S.



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use of it to both sides.

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Shows a national and safe way, for all
people Parties, to obtain a Treaty and
it is a Treaty with the M. of the
for his security and his safety.



ANIMADVERSIONS

Upon a Book entituled
Inquisition for the Blood of
our late Sovereign, &c.

AND

Upon the offence taken at it.

S E C T. I.

Hat I did deny my name, to
 go forth with that Book,
 when it was first published,
 was I think, a foolish or weak
 niceness: Possibly the want
 of that courage and confi-
 dence, that was due, both to my self and it,
 may expose both to the greater contempt:

B

BUT

But I did resolve in my mind, and promise, that if ever it came to be questioned, I would own it; and either correct and amend it, if it needed; or else justify and defend it, if it deserved it. What I promise, is ordinarily required of me; and if it be, I am bound to perform it: *There is a justice due to things, as well as to persons*: If to anything, then certainly to a mans own works, which are his children, and therefore he ought to Father them; and either to call them home, or maintain them abroad.

A mans Spirit, Religion and Name, are all tender things; if I have any sense of any of them, or of my self, and what I have done, I cannot but resent the *grievous offence* that is taken at that book, and at me for writing of it: The minds of many are exceedingly disturbed at it; and the censures run as high against it, and me, as possibly they can: It is judged, the very Spirit of Antichrist, and of the Devil, the sin against the Holy-Ghost, Apostacy, Persecution, Treachery, Bloodiness and Cruelty: And the condemnation is answerable, the curse of horror, despair, and self-destruction; which are not only threatned, and expected, but reported to be already upon me.

These

These things are in their own nature weighty, and they come thick upon me, from all sects and sorts of people; from friends and strangers; and discharged at me, from their very hearts, with all the strength of their Religion, with all their might; in a bitter and angry Spirit, sharp and fierce; and in some with great seriousness and gravity; yea in love to me: And most of them solemnly in the name of God, and for his cause; as against an enemy to God, to godliness, and to his people: This is the sense I have of them, and I think the description is just and true: These things being *breathed forth* from men, friends, Christians professing godliness and the Spirit of God: besides the common rage that foames out, Rogue, Jesuite, hang him, &c. They do requite and justly challenge from me, that I should Animadvert, and duly consider what these things are? whence they come? What they would have? and what I am, and have done to deserve them?

As these things drive me in to review both my self and book; so they do peal and call me forth, to shew in what Spirit and Light I live; from what root this work came, and upon what foundation, that and

my self stand ; so that I now count my self bound, not only in honour and justice , but in love , freely to open and discover my self, and my mind and spirit , concerning my self, my book , and the great offence taken at it.

I confess, I do feel that these censures are high , and that men are hearty and serious in them, and do lay them on with all their strength, and with a sharp spirit, angred and provoked : And that they do sometimes sting and twinge a little , and consequently stir some choler in me, that I could be as heartily angry at others , as others are at me : But as yet I do not find that they go deep, or abide long in me : But on the contrary , I have been well able to bear them ; yea to slight and neglect them , as sick and sore passions, which cannot live long , and although they stumble at me , and bruise me , yet if I did but lie still, I should quickly see them fall in their own dirt , by their own darkness and weakness : *For that I find constantly to be the nature of Passion , it is a blind thing that runs it self into ruin , and needs no enemy to destroy it : it is the Gunpowder of the mind, while it is shot at another, it doth crack, stink and vanish.*

As I must confess they do sometimes
sting

sing a little ; so I must profess that hitherto they have not only been tolerable and easie to bear, but that I have had pleasure in suffering of them : I shall honestly discover the reason of it to you ; in justice to truth, and in love to you ; that you may hereafter learn, better to bear the reproofs that either I, or others shall charge upon you ; if you do indeed find the same cause in you.

What ever infirmities are either in my self, or the Book ; I know most certainly, and feel, that I am not that, which I am judged to be : or if I am all that, I am also something else, that supports me under it ; else I could not live : I know assuredly, that there is both Truth, Reason, Love and Innocency in me, and in what I have written, however it is veiled, and therefore people are much mistaken in me : Learn this then.

That Truth, Love and Innocency, have a constant peace in them, that none can take from them ; When under infirmity, and under Judgements and Trials for infirmity, they have then a singular and special lustre, and brightness in them, and an answerable complacency : For he that indeed enjoys these things, knows that he hath a royalty within himself, an autarchie, content and self-sufficiency :

ency : And not only sufficient to bear, but an absolute and supreme authority, by which he can deliver himself from the judgement of others, as weak, remote and ignorant, and can justify himself : Truth knowing its own sufficiency, ability and authority, to deliver it self both from its own weakness and others mistakes, secretly triumphs, & is well pleased to lie down under, and to rise up out of obscurity : These things I discover to you, as my present and constant experience, knowing that you have great need of them in this day of your rebuke : if you have them not, search for them; they will be far better then striving with, or victory over enemies.

I was for some time passive and quiet under these hard censures, and much more at rest in my mind since I writ the Book, then before : Be it good or bad, be the mistakes in it, or concerning it, what they will, I am thus far well satisfied, as to my self, it is better out then in. It was a burden to me, while it was in me, and an ease to be delivered of it.

Being quiet and still under this storm, I was at work about another piece; drawing a line of History, Divine and Spiritual, Humane and Rational, Scriptural and Literal, of Church and Kingdom, from the beginning

ing of both unto this day : Wherein I found great content ; seeing that the state of the Church now under Controversie ; and the things that I had produced , now the matter of offence , had so excellent ground , in the Divine and Eternal Law of God , in the Reason and Nature of man , and in the letter of the Scripture.

That there are these three distinct Laws, I think no man questions ; and that these three do perfectly agree , is as generally confessed : For the Divine and Eternal Law or mind of God , hath imprinted his own image upon man : And therefore the true reason or understanding of man, must answer to its Original, the mind of God : The same God hath expressed the same mind in his written Word : And therefore the written Word must agree both to the mind of God that declared it, and to the true reason of man , that is formed by the same Original ; and they cannot but all answer to each other.

If these three agree , and are united and brought together by Christ , as certainly they are ; for all three meet in him , and come forth together from him : Then if we truly understand one , we shall understand all : And that which is truly spiritual, or the

mind of God, is also most Rational : and that which is Spiritual and Rational , is also Scriptural , or according to the written Word : And it is as true on the contrary , that what pretends to be Spiritual , and is not also Rational , is not of the *man Christ* , but is a *spiritual beast* : And what seems Rational , and is not also Spiritual , that doth not derive it self from the *heavenly man* , it is *earthly* and *sensual* at least : And what men have from the Scriptures only , and not from the heavenly pattern , must needs be a broken reed , not fit to measure any thing : For the heavenly mind , which gave forth the Scriptures , can only interpret them ; and what is Spiritual and Scriptural , will be also Rational .

Therefore these two things do necessarily follow. First , That no man can justly expect to be received in the Church , or to be believed in what he affirms , if he do not demonstrate what he brings , from all these three : because the Church is the body of Christ , and partakes of Christs nature : if these three agree in him , she cannot subject to any thing rightly , but what hath the Light of all three in it : Neither can there be any demonstration made of any thing in Religion , but from the first and highest

highest of these, into the two lower. And secondly, That which hath the joint testimony of all these, may challenge belief from all men and Christians, and from the whole Church. And it were great breach of Charity and Trust, to doubt the success of Truth so delivered to the Church.

And therefore I was not a little pleased, to find that I had so much light with me, as to essay such a thing; and to satisfy my reason, that it was possible for me to do it: Not doubting, but if I could attain it, I should not only enlighten and satisfy my offended Brethren, but bring forth that which might heal and restore the Church of God, by leading of her up, to her own head and heavenly pattern; whereby only she can be cured, purged, justified and honoured.

I do desire by the way, that men would take notice of this, That what I have brokenly and briefly hinted in that Book, concerning a National Church, the right of Kings and Bishops in the Church, &c. whatever you judge of them, that they are now started up from the basest and vilest spirit of time-serving for preferment: yet I do affirm to you, whatever weakness doth attend the manner of expressing of them; that they
are

are from the *holy Mount*; from the heavenly and divine Law; thence I received them, how ever I may mis-represent them; and that not of late; twelve years since I writ and published the same things: and they have continued in the inward frame of my mind, through many and sore spiritual trials, ever since, without any change.

This being plainly, and honestly affirmed to you, and upon the review of my self and mind, occasioned by your rebukes: I may expect from you, so much friendly and Christian ingenuity, that you would not so scornfully reject them, to throw them away, as not worthy to be read; but that you would read them, with that seriousness and consideration, that is due to things that come under such a name, and profess such an original.

I was interrupted in this work, thus, having written some part of it, I offered it to the Press, by the Book-seller that printed the *Inquisition*: Upon consideration he told me, that there was that rage kindled in mens minds against the *other Book*, that his men durst not shew them in the shop; and that nothing of mine would pass till that spirit was laid, and therefore he durst not meddle with this to print it.

My

My mind being very weak and tender, and apt to take check at such things, this did not only put me to a stand, but turned my mind quite about, to hearken more attentively to this cry that did thus earnestly pursue me: And to consider, that sure this mouth, that was thus opened against me, did require something of me: And that I could not fairly, nor justly slight and neglect it any longer: And that I could not proceed in my intended work, till I had answered this plea against me.

S E C T. II.

THIS a position in my mind, that no persons or things, that we converse with, are absolutely evil; but there is some good in every thing, else it could not be: and therefore nothing is to be reprobated, or not, till it be first sifted and tried. By my own rule, I am bound to think, that though these angry speeches against me, are my enemies, yet sure there is some just reason in them: such sounds at these, are not without their significancy. If so, then I must not reject them, because opposite and unpleasing, but must admit them to the bar of my own reason:

reason : and not only give them a fair hearing, but all the advantage also that I can ; because the Court is my own mind, where they are strangers ; and being weak distempered things, I ought to humble my self to them, though mine enemies, and to descend from my own right, to hear and satisfie them if I can, or at least to do them justice : For I consider, though they be dark passions, yet they are humane : and every man is honourable, and every affection in man, though sick and distempered, is of value ; besides they are zealous, serious, brethren, friends, Christians : therefore I must query : Have I not erred against them ? have I not done them wrong ? have I not detained something from them, that is their due ? We have professed a *Kingdom of Heaven within us* : if it be there indeed, then we have in us a throne of judgement : which must do right to all things, that come before us. In this Kingdom, there is also sufficient, to answer every plea, and claim, that is made to it, or against it ; and therefore we need not fear to admit the greatest and strongest accusation to a full and fair hearing.

Where there is authority to judge, and sufficiency to answer, there is likewise wisdom to understand, what there is in these clamours,

clamours, though they be of themselves very dark and confused things: for the mind may taste and try all things thoroughly; and every thing that comes into it, must be opened, and seen in that light that is in it; because the mind is a supream light, to which all things are subject, that come before it.

Therefore setting my self to examine and consider these things, I found first, that although there was just reason in the book, yet there was something, that hindered men from the seeing of it: and though there was love and good in it, yet there was something also, that denied men the benefit of it: and therefore tis righteous that it should be animadverted, and endure a tryal.

And secondly, I find that there is something in my self, that is justly due, both to my friends, and brethren, and to the Book it self: that was not therein communicated: which is my life and spirit; the ground upon which I stand: upon which I wrote, and by which I am enabled to assert things so different from others. As these high challenges of my spirit and peace, do tell me, that this is the thing wanting, and now demanded of me: so I am upon this review of things, conscious to my self, that I have not fully
opened

opened my self, and my mind : but have in a great measure concealed it, as well as my name.

And therefore I must thus far justify the plea against me : That if a man bring forth a notion of things, different from, and contrary to the life of others : they may justly refuse that notion : if the Author do not bring forth his own life, spirit, and peace : which only can maintain those notions; and satisfie for that life, that he would take away by those notions. This is for you, and therefore I hope you will well observe the justice of it. I am content to condemn what I have done, as guilty of this capital offence : It may possibly stand as a Law to me and others hereafter : That if any man write, be it never so good reason, and with good intencion ; if he do not produce the *head* of the spring, from whence it comes, and his own heart, soul, and peace with it : let it wither and be rejected ; truly I believe it will.

There is a further justice in the persons offended. If any man utter his matters to his friends, and conceal himself, he deals injuriously with them : in bringing forth the weaker and worse, and hiding the better part; which the royal Law of love will condemn,

condemn, as a great wrong: for certainly if there be any thing worthy in a man, tis his spiritual life: and therefore I justify your anger, you do like friends and men; not to take words, notions, and reason, if there be a better thing in me: your own life and peace, being aimed at; you may well challenge me, to shew a better: I have this relief against this charge: that though I am guilty, in not discovering the best, yet the best is still with me, and being my own as yet, it will support and justify me.

Neither can I complain justly of any injury done to me by these sharp censures: for if any man will put on an appearance, strange to his neighbours, and withal cover his face; tis no wonder if men beat him, and the dogs bark at him: if he be ill used, he may thank himself, and his covering: There is this remedy also, if hiding the life and face, be the fault, that enmity that is occasioned by it, will rend that vail, and then the quarrel will be ended.

If I have a right sense of the offence that is against me, (it being at me, and upon me, it sure belongs to me to feel and understand it) then I am called forth to give a judgement of my Book, and to hold forth to the view of all the world, my spirit and life
from

from whence it came ; and to shew what righteousness and power is with me, that can maintain me, and others, in the receiving and practising such things as I have writ.

I have been very inward, and retired in my spirit a long time ; not without some motions to look out ; but I have suppressed them ; and till now declined all publick appearance. Being sensible that my mind is both weak, and a great stranger to all the Forms and ways of Religion that are abroad, and having found by experience, that when I did look out, I met with great trouble and opposition, from all sorts of people : I have been willing to enjoy my peace and comfort at home, and alone. I did the least think to come forth in opposition to any party, having in my heart a general love to all men ; But I am by this Book, unexpectedly engaged to come forth in some kind of opposition to many, if not all sorts of spirits, now stirring in the Nation.

The people that have severely censured this book and me for it, are Independents, Anabaptists, Quakers, Fifth monarchy men, and such as profess themselves spiritual, and are in no particular form ; I desire them all friendly to consider, how high they have raised

raised the controversie, and what must necessarily be the issue, if it be determined : If any of them had taken the book, and dealt with the reason of it : and had answered it, and convinced me ; I had been bound to have been their Scholler, and to have subscribed to them as my Master : And if my reason had been too good for theirs, I might have expected the same from them, and no more : But they all leaving the reason, and falling directly upon my person, and the state of my soul, my life and peace ; the war is like to be of a higher nature ; and the question, who is the Antichrist? who the Apostate ? who hath sinned against the Holy Spirit? and consequently who must go down into horror and trouble, into Satan, and the displeasure of God? and so it is a war of souls and spirits about the most solemn things of life and peace with God.

And therefore the issue must be this : if you subdue me, and overthrow my state, I must bow, and seek for mercy and peace of you, upon such conditions, as you shall think good to give it : This I know you do expect : and as necessarily I must, so I do believe, I readily shall perform it: on the other side, if my state and peace be good, and yours fail ; I may require the same of you, that

you should submit to me, and accept of my
 grace and pardon, according to that equal
 and just Law, *Whatsoever ye would that
 men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*

I do earnestly desire, that we may on
 both sides heartily engage in this quarrel: if
 I find you do shrink from it, I shall endea-
 vour to compell you to stand to it, till there
 be a compleat victory gained by one of us:
 If you be men, and true to any thing that
 you say or think, you cannot avoid the try-
 al; for I know and feel, that you are come
 forth against me, in your censures of me,
 with all your hearts, and with the strength of
 your God, Religion, and Life: as against an
 enemy to God and his cause; tis so evident
 it cannot be denyed: And by it you have
 drawn forth my life and spirit, (which till
 now lay close and still) to answer you; and
 therefore you are bound to stand and abide
 the dispute: This I write neither lightly,
 boastingly, nor threatning, but soberly and
 seriously, in love to you, and to the good
 and peace of souls.

The combat may be sharp, but it may be
 friendly also: For I do constantly find this
 truth in my mind: that as all good doth,
 and will overcome evil, because it is larger,
 stronger, truer, and more durable than evil.

so doth love conquer, & swallow up enmity; enmity is a mean, inferiour, base thing, that is but a servant to the greatness and majesty of love. And at this time, I find a special love, both of pitty and friendship, provoked and stirred in my heart, by these wounds that you have given me: For I feel such a nature in me, the more you pierce, the more freely my love and life will flow forth to you; so that there is a ring of love made for us, in which we may safely try our strength: and therefore, though it be both a serious and sharp contest, yet it must also be a friendly strife. It may be, love hath laid a train to catch us all, and all the enmity of all men: For observe our quarrel, it is of a very high nature, for no less then the life and peace of our souls; yet if we fight it out, the end will be this: either I must return to you, and receive mercy from you; or you must come to me, and receive it from me: Either you must be my Pastors or Ministers, and so heal and feed me, as a brother; or I your Bishop and Father. The quarrell is, Whether you shall serve me, with your life; or I serve you with mine? Whether I shall forgive you, or you forgive me? Possibly after some anger spent in the conflict, it may be comprimised, and we

may both have our ends, both serve and be served, forgive and be forgiven: But let us resolve to try it out: for if you draw back and refuse the combat, you will go down into your dark holes of enmity; but press forward, and we shall certainly come to feel and understand one another, though through some smart: and at last after we have spent our heat, end in love.

If we had dealt in opinions that concern the State, you might have feared trouble: but you shall have the state of my mind to deal with: which you may do, without danger of any suffering, but in your spirits: our war will be now purely in and about spiritual things: If we should controvert National Church, Episcopacy, &c. the power of the Nation might be with me: but declining that as you do, and dealing only with my spirit and life: possibly the Bishops may be as different from me, and from my spirit and life, as you are: yea, and be more
+ with you, then they are with me; and I am apt to think it may prove so: How ever you may be confident, you are free from outward danger, in dealing with the spirit of a private person.

You have advantage enough: you are many: I am alone: you are whole and
sound;

sonnd; I am I confess, much broken and weak: you stand firm, I have been tossed about: my infirmities and failings are many, and visible to all the world; and most of all to my self: yet truly I do desire and shall endeavour a fair trial, not doubting the issue, which way soever it fall, it must be good.

SECT. III.

First for the Book, I have had many complaints against it, but only in general, as a monstrous, strange, wicked, and cursed thing: I have invited many to shew me particularly, what false or unrighteous propositions there are in it; and to this day not one man hath said to me, that this or that sentence is untrue, or will give me any reason against any passage of it: But when we come to the point, either they have not read it, or but part of it, or I do not understand it; or What do you mean by this or that passage? Tis strange, totally condemned but not examined in any parts of it; I may lay in my case, as *Job, chap. 31. v. 35, 36, 37. That mine adversary had written a Book; surely I would take it upon my shoulder,*

and bind it as a crown to me : I would declare to him the number of my steps, &c. Had his reproofs been heavy, true or false, I would have taken them upon my shoulder, and born either my own, or his infirmities ; I have done it, and by the same grace of God, I can do it again : Or had his book been more true, righteous or mercifull then mine ; I can boldly say, I should have put it upon my head, openly worn his understanding, professed it, and gloried in it, as a crown. I know I have in me, that authority over my self, and have been so conversant in self-judging, and retracting what I have seen to be short, and also such a love to truth, that it would be a glory and crown to me, to meet with a light, that could convince mine of darkness : yea I have this experience of my self, I can prefer another before me, and give *honour*, time, and place to my adversaries, even when I know they are the *weaker*. But I may and do think, that men are not able to deal with the reason of the Book ; and therefore it is left to my self, to Animadvert upon it : and possibly I may deal as severely with it as another.

The first thing that I blame the book for, is its untimeliness, it came too late. I have in my heart a love to mankind, to all English men,

men, and to the opposite parties in the Nation: my place and work is to heal, unite and reconcile: and so to prevent ruine and destruction; if I might be heard, none should execute it, nor any suffer it. Many things did offer themselves in my mind, that did tend to a universal peace, and a composing all differences, to the great advantage of the whole, and of every part; They have been long conceived in my mind: and did offer themselves to birth, at the beginning of this great change: but I delay'd so long, till another spirit had stepped in, and engaged the minds of men, both in doing, and suffering: so that what was proposed towards another course, could not be heard by either; and for this I suffered a very sharp rebuke from the Lord, before the Book came forth: it was like that to *Moses*, *Exod. 4. 24. God met him and sought to kill him.* A more dangerous assault I have not received a long time, nor a deeper wound: I have still a frequent sense of it, which keeps me in an awe of God.

My evil was suppressing a that light of love and peace, which did arise in my mind from the divine nature; This we must know, and I declare it from a living sense; That *God is in his nature, most gracious, tender, and patient;*

tient; yet he knows how to take vengeance on all iniquity, even in his dearest children.

Where there is the greatest love, there is the greatest authority and majesty, yea the greatest jealousy and severity: I find it so in his constant dealings with me.

The supreme Law of God, is *himself*, Love; and with it peace, salvation, forgiveness, good-will to man: The very nature and Law of this love is, to do good, and communicate: none receives it for himself only, but to give forth to others; of all things it must not be confined nor imprisoned, being in its own nature infinitely large: *You have freely received, freely give.* If this be the highest Law, it doth punish accordingly; being offended, or transgressed against, it requires the sorest punishment, which is, to take away that love: They that have felt love, must needs have the sharpest sense of the want of it: and its nature being large and communicating: that *evil servant that hides and buries this talent* of love and peace, and not communicate it, it shall be taken from him: This was my danger.

All men live under a Law: the Law of love is the exactest and severest, where it is in life and power: or the Law of the spirit of life which is in Jesus: it is there the quickest

quickest and sharpest; and works most fully and strongly, where it is engraven and written upon the heart, and put in the *inward parts*: Every stroke of a Law of eternal life, in the most inward parts must needs be terrible, threatening eternal death. I write this not only that you may know, that I live under a Law and exact discipline: but that all may learn to *fear the Lord and his goodness*: For know assuredly that God will be known and feared of all, and that in great mercy and severity; For his love and grace, where it is in its truth and power, will not be abused, and turned into looseness and wantonness: you may abuse and corrupt lesser favour, but it will rise and be revenged, and at last have that absoluteness in it, that it will rule, and give Law to us: else it cannot save us.

My suppressing the movings of general and healing love, was thus: it often rose up in my mind, and required to be written and published; I did attempt and essay to do it: but what I did one day, I disliked the second or third day: either from the weakness of my mind, or from a growing spring of light, or both: but finding larger and deeper discoveries, I refused and rejected the former: and so in hope of doing better, more strongly,
more

more certainly and compleatly ; I delayed to do what was present , till the season was past.

There is in this a great evil , for which I received a great rebuke , and yet am I not wholly delivered from the snare : for the further enlargement of my mind , and the instruction of others , I will examine the particulars of it.

In not giving forth truth , light and love ; as it arises naturally in our minds , but deferring till it be more accomplished and compleat ; or till we can give it a finer dress , which may render it the more acceptable to others , that so the fruit may be more certain , and our selves more honoured and justified : In this there is a great transgression against the Law of love and life.

First , it is a sin against that truth or light ; an undervaluing of it , as if it were not worthy to be seen and looked upon by men in its own natural form , wherein there is the greatest beauty ; it is sufficiently , if not most lovely , in it self , and in its own naked and native goodness : All light hath a natural Majestic in it , and is best when purest and unmixed ; it commands by its own brightness : but above all , the light of love is absolute and perfect : It hath in it a sufficiency of

of glory, to take away the spots and defects of other things : and therefore it self needs no accomplishments : All additions to light and love, do darken and eclipse them both : for they give beauty and glory to all , and receive from none.

Secondly , it is a sin against God, a distrust of him, not to commit our selves wholly to the leadings of his spirit : it is an ignorance of his presence with , and dominion over every spirit : he being in and over all men, he will plead the cause of Truth with them , especially when it rises simply and purely from himself, and his own good Spirit : And will make it effectual to that end that he sends it : It is most righteously due to him, that he should have the managing, of what light and grace he gives to any man : and to employ it to his own holy ends and purposes , to be a *favour of life* , or of *death* , as he please.

Thirdly , there is in it, want of love to Brethren : for why should we be either afraid or ashamed to appear to them we love, just as we are ? If I love my neighbour as my self, why should not I appear to him as I do to my self ? and be confident of him, that if I be found weak to him, he will both pity, cover, and help me , as I would do to
my

my self, or as I would do to him : Sure such confidence and openness of heart, one to another, will sooner gain entrance into the heart, then formal and neat discourses into the head, being most natural and familiar : And if they obtain a place in the heart, they will effect more, then by pleasing the fancy : yea weakness as well as confidence suits best, with them that are weak : A man may overpower a weak mind, by too great an evidence and strength of Reason : We are all weak ; if any will seem to be otherwise, I doubt he doth but dissemble, and get a covering ; but if any could attain a perfection, he would by it, be more a stranger to his Brethren, except he could make them like himself ; or descend into their imperfection, and be like them :

Fourthly, I am not justified, in rejecting or scorning infirmity : There is a time for all things, and a season proper for weakness : A mixture of light and darkness, makes the morning pleasant and growing : simplicity and mistakes in children, is better then cunning and politick exactness : Yea natural weakness is better then artificial strength : *Christ became weak for us*, and what is any man, that he should refuse, what he chose ? or to be weak with the weak : much less to appear so, if he be so.

Ex-

Exactness and compleatness is desirable, and exceeding beautiful in its season, when we grow up naturally to it : But we must come to it by degrees, and arise to it, out of weakness : In a child, perfect strength or wisdom, seems strange and monstrous ; if it be feigned or affected in any, it is Serpentine, deceit and hypocrisie.

Besides, if we refuse to do good, because we would and may do better, or best of all, we reject the first degree of good, which is the root and foundation, both of better and best : And cruelly slay and destroy the first spring and buddings of life, which are the fountains, that only can nourish and seed unto perfect strength, and Eternal Life.

Lastly, there is in it, as distrust of *Truth*, *God* and *Brethren*, so of a mans self, and his own life : If a man have any *true life* in him, it is sufficient to carry him forth into the world, because it is better and greater then the world : *He that is in you, is greater then he that is in the world* : By distrust and diffidence of a mans own life, he weakens it : It is the design of the enemy, to keep us in fear and bondage of spirit : If that life that is in me, be true, it is best when it is natural : all art and contrivance do weaken and
clog

eelog it : If it be not true, it is abominable hypocrisie, to personate an holy or heavenly thing : We see, all studied and made things, come to base ends ; they will wear out and leave a mans soul destitute : But true and genuine life, will stand and increase : Therefore I would be natural ; as in all things, so especially in Religion ; which though it is supernatural, yet is never good, if it be not also natural : Yet I may not wholly condemn the exercise, either of fancy or judgement, in composing and forming things ; for that they also are natural faculties ; and are excellent when the spiritual life doth purifie them, fill them, and rule over them.

By this you see the first and great evil in this Book, and in my mind, in writing of it : delaying or dallying till another spirit had entred : and so long, till all parties were so engaged and disturbed, that they had neither time, nor clearness of mind to examine the reason of it : For which I was so sharply afflicted, and threatned, not only to the rejecting of my present work and Ministry, but of my life also : Yet it was a sin, not of wickedness, but weakness, and therefore I found mercy, and God accepted of a sacrifice from me, and not only permitted me

to proceed in my work, but continued and enlarged his assistance, and healed my soul also : Which gives me hope, that though the book, and my self suffer awhile ; yet I and others may at last reap fruit and comfort from it : It is for the present in the fire, and let it be tryed thoroughly, that all may see what is in it.

SECT. IV.

YOU have seen the first and great evil of the book, its unseasonable birth, occasioned by my delaying to write it, when the things contained in it, first offered themselves to come forth : You have likewise seen the severe chastisements suffered for it ; and animadversions upon both : If this evil be really removed and taken away ; and what I have written, may a little calm and compose your minds, but into a willingness to read it, and seriously to ponder the things contained in it ; other defects, the consequents and effects of the former, may be cured.

There is a continual spring and growth of light in my mind, which makes me distaste this day, what I wrote two or three dayes since ;

since : this made me suppress things, and not giving them vent in their season, they multiplied so fast upon me, that at last they crowded out, one over another, so thick and in a huddle, that people know not what to make of them; whereas had they marched out in their own order, although rude and natural, yet they would have been more perspicuous and so more easily discerned and understood : There is, I am sure, a strange mistake in men, even of the very drift and nature of the book; so much wide of reason, that I wonder at it : besides other causes, this may be one; things pressed out so fast, when they found the door open, that they obscured themselves by multitude and force : Being born *in turba*, they are children of strife from the womb; and then it is no wonder if they disturb others.

But this is a curable evil, if any will be at the pains to part the notions and conceptions, and take them asunder, and set them at a greater distance one from another : I do think he may have another view of them : The matters contained in the book are very weighty, concerning the great change and turn in the Nation, by which the lives and liberties of thousands are in danger : The things written, and manner of writing
them

them are not vulgar; most people say they
 do not understand them. They that have
 read it often say, it hath in every new read-
 ing, a new face. When I review it my self,
 I find more in it; then I apprehended when I
 writ it. I profess when I consider it, I can-
 not think of mens slighting of it, without an
 indignation: I must deal freely with you,
 when I hear of your unworthy and irratio-
 nal scorn of it, my soul doth upbraid, and
 wonder at that shallowness and froward
 headiness that makes you so uneasable of the
 justice, reason, and mercy that is in it: I do
 know, and am able to write it, upon mature
 deliberation, and consultation. That there is
 in it that love and righteousness, that must
 and shall be considered and understood:
 And that very fury, that makes you impa-
 tient of the reason and rebuke of it, will
 run you upon a foolish and desperate op-
 posing the present Providence and Power,
 and so bring you into misery: And then
 you will repent of your too late considering,
 as I have of my too late writing. I could
 return scorn for scorn, and anger for anger,
 it is in me to do it; you know you are liable
 to it, and may know I am able to do it: But
 such is my love to you; that I cannot but
 earnestly desire you to mind and study the
 thing.

things : I dare promise you, you shall not lose your labour ; if that which is there written do not answer your time and pains, do but complain of it to me, and you shall have satisfaction ; It is but just you should : and I have such opinion of my honesty, and ability, as to assure you, if it doth not perform to you, I will.

Another fault is found in the Book, that it is too sharp and cutting in the reproofs of it : It is a sensible complaint in some, I have the more reason to Animadvert upon it, because it is so : If they be afflicted at it, there is great reason it should afflict me also. Of all repentings, I find the easiest and sweetest, is to repent of anger : God hath made it easie and honourable, by his own example, who hath often repented of his just rebukes upon his people : It is easie in it self : for anger is no pleasant thing : If it were not necessary, no man could chuse it : Indeed, it is so mean a thing, that few men enter into it in judgement : Most men are thrust upon it, without understanding : I think I may say all ; It is so unruly and troublesom a guest, that none but fools will entertain it : *Solomon sayes, Eccles. 7. 9. Anger rests in the bosom of fools.* If it be just and good, it is mean and poor, but if it be malicious,

malicious, wicked, and false, then it is devilish: Be it what it will, I alwayes find it as yet, an offence to my weak nature; it alwayes wounds and stings me; therefore I am inclined to be jealous of it, and of my self for it.

If there be a sower and severe spirit in it, it may possibly arise from the first ill root, deferring or delaying to give it forth in its season, when 'twas tender: the keeping it so long within, made it more fierce. But if the nails be too long, we may pare them, 'twill be better then scratching and clawing.

Angry and vehement reproofs do abound in this Age: You reprove and condemn your adversaries to utter destruction; and they condemn you: I have rebuked you, and you rebuke me, as a man irrecoverably lost: The Nation is so full of judgement, that men can administer little else: wrath is so strong, that most men are quite drunk with it; love and peace is so weak, that they that incline to it, find great difficulty in exercising any of it: It may be for the good of all to understand the nature and kinds of rebuke.

There are four sorts of it subject to my observation: The first and worst is devilish: A malicious searching into, and aggravating

the sins of them we hate; and accusing of them to make them odious; that we may appear just; or a finding out iniquity in them that are opposite to us, that we may destroy them: There is a great deal of this; it is meet you and I should consider how far we have been in this spirit: it is a very gross and common evil, yet not discerned: because them that we prosecute with such enmity, we first paint them in our fancies, as devils & enemies to God, and then think we do well, to destroy them, believing they are appointed to it: But I hope this darkness will not last long: For no parties now stand in opposition one to another, at so great a distance, as the children of God, and the children of the Devil: Because if any were indeed the children of God, they would be like their Father, *Mat. 5. 44, 45. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you: That you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, &c.* How contrary is mens ordinary practice to this? We say we are the children of God, and therefore ought to destroy our and Gods enemies: to do good to sinners, and to them that hate us is Divine: to hate, accuse, and destroy, is certainly Diabolical.

The

The second kind of rebuke is Legal or Angelical: To reprove and punish men, as Gods children and creatures, in a holy zeal for God and righteousness, with intention to humble, subject, and reform: and that from a holy and pure Law, and from a just and godly nature and life: This is no Christian, or divine dispensation, but a legal one: yet who is there of you that can justify himself by this Law? Consider it seriously: Do you reprove and punish men as men, as brethren, as Gods creatures and children, though enemies? Do you do it, with intent to humble and reform, or to ruin and destroy? Do you do it from a holy, pure Law, or from your own conceptions of the Law, which are broken, uncertain, and changeable? Do you do it from a just and godly nature and life? or is there not also envy, covetousness, self-seeking, partiality, and unrighteousness? you may ponder these things in your hearts, and measure your selves by this rule.

The third kind of rebuke or reproof is Evangelical; that which was administered by Christ, when he was in the flesh: he was a Minister of the circumcision, and did circumcise in his Ministry; he ministered sharply, cuttingly: but when he had done that,

he was lead by his Father, to lay down his life for them that he had so reprov'd, and after he had discovered sin, in a holy spirit, in obedience to his Father, and in all his work *knew no sin*, yet he himself *was made sin*. His Father by a superiour Law, judg'd him as the sinner, and acquitted, pardoned and justified them: This is Christs way, first reprove severely as a legal Minister, purely and holily: and finding that short or weak, he layes down his life for them he had condemn'd: And when he had administred the Law in its highest purity, he then nailed it to the Cross, as a weak thing that could not save: and died under it, to bring in a better Law of peace and forgiveness.

The fourth and last is the best: the reproofs of the Spirit; which Christ prefers above his own, John 16. 7, 8, &c. *It is expedient that I go away: for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you: And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgement.* Christ reprov'd of sin from righteousness. The Spirit reprov'd of sin, and righteousness: Christ reprov'd of sin, in the flesh, in weakness, as under it and the Law, and

so grieved at it: The Spirit reprov'd of sin, and of righteousness, in glory and power, because, saith Christ, *I go to my Father*, where he was glorified; Being now exalted not only over their sins, but by the worst of their sins, by their crucifying of him, *The Son of man was lifted up*: His love and life overcame both Law, Sin, Death, and the Devil: having taken away their sins, his Spirit could now manifest to them, this one only sin, unbelief: That there was in him, love, peace, pardon and salvation for them and their worst sins, hatred of him: that he had born them himself, and was acquitted of them, and so they were all done away: and this sin only remained, that they believed not this blessed and mighty grace, that could overcome all that evil and bring forth glory to himself, and good to them, out of their sins, and his death: And this the Spirit did not only declare, but convince so strongly, that they could not resist it. For his own descending upon them was an undeniable proof of it: He convinces of righteousness, by shewing that they had a righteousness, as well as sin: and that as their sins were Christs, so his righteousness was theirs: that their righteousness was with the Father, in a heavenly invisible state,

because I go to the Father : That this is true, his own coming, as Gods gift, is a sufficient proof : And therefore it is conviction with judgement ; or, of *Sin*, *Righteousness* and *Judgement*. For except both the evil and the good be produced, both *Sin* and *Righteousness*, in the light and power of the Spirit, there may be wrath administred, but not Judgement : It is said, *of Judgement, because the Prince of this world is Judged :* And that is true Judgement, that convinces the creature of *Sin*, and of *Righteousness*, and by the Spirit releases him, and judges the wicked one, the enemy, that is the principal, the author and worker of all this mischief.

This Judgement doth right to man, to Christ and to God ; to man, it humbles and abases him, and brings him to God, where his righteousness is ; It doth right to *Christ*, and the sufficiency of his love, life, death, and resurrection, to save the world ; And it exalts *God*, his love, mercy, fulness, and justice : that he hath the righteousness of the whole world with him ; and that he hath accepted *Christ* to it, as Lord and Prince of the whole world, as head of man ; and hath given him power and Spirit to reveal and dispence that righteousness freely to whom he will.

Now

Now it much concerns you, and me, and all men, that are busie in reprovng others, to examine our selves by these *things*, what kind of reproofs we do administer: If you will admit your work to be tried, which you now cannot avoid: upon a little humble and sober consideration you will find, that in the administration of condemnation upon the Magistracy and Ministry, of Church and Kingdom, persons and things, officers and offices, you are very much short of the second of these, which I call a Legal or Angelical reproof, and punishment for sin: For true, legal, lawful, or angelical justice, is administered: First, upon men as Gods creatures, made in his image, and so his children, though drawn away by Satan into the worst evils. It is secondly, not to ruine or destroy, but to reform. Thirdly, it is by a just, holy, stable Law, and not from mens uncertain and broken imaginations. Fourthly, it is from a just, holy and godly life and nature: If these things be true, as they are; then consider, What spirit have you acted in? Is it not mercy and justice to you, and all men, that this should be known? That you dealt with them, not as men, but as brats of Antichrist: And sought not to reform either persons or things, but to destroy, root,

branch, abjure and curse for ever. And that by no steddý known Law, of God or man ; such you never could own or profess : but by uncertain opinions and imaginations ; which you never were, nor could be true to, or agree in, either for Church or Commonwealth : yea generally, ye acted besides all rule, Law, and authority ; only by that you call *necessary, self preservation and interest* : And this you did not from a pure nature, as is too grossly manifest, but from a mixture at least, of pride, envy, malice, covetousness, and self-seeking ; seen now by your selves and all men.

If you fall so short of the second, I know you will not presume once to think of the third kind ; which Christ our Lord administered in the flesh : first to discover sin, and then to bear the curse and punishment of it himself : This was ~~once~~ an example, and the Saints of old were called to practise the same thing : read 1 *Pet.* 2. 19, 20, &c. and *chap.* 3. 17, 18. But alas, you are not yet instructed in the doctrine of such a thing ; but are taught the contrary, that this is only for Christ to do, and not for men : But *you are sheep gone astray*, and led away by false spirits, and for the present have lost the Sheeps nature, and acted as Woolves : When
you

you return unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls, chap. 2. v. 25. he will teach you another and more excellent way: And therefore as you are short of the second, so you are opposite to the third, in the very form of your spirits. For Christ the holy one, dies for the ungodly: your holiness serves only to punish and destroy the ungodly: his holiness to your practice, must needs seem either unrighteous, or foolish and impolitick: to suffer the just for the unjust; and only for well-doing, and to commit his cause to God: Why did he not justifie himself, and condemn others? Had he power in his hands? Yes, he could command legions, and that of Angels: Why then did he not cut off the wicked out of the land, and plant himself and followers in it? because he came not to destroy, but to save mens lives: Because he was Lord and owner of the world; and not a thief: therefore he would not destroy it, but suffered for it: he had the life of the world in him, and therefore shed his blood for them: Because he would not gain it to himself, but by death bring it to God: because he knew he had an eternal life, and could lay down his present life in the flesh: But they had only a fleshly and sinful life, and could not die, therefore he chose to die for

for them : In fine, he died for sinners, because he loved man, though faine, sinful, and enemies to him : and because he would be like his Father, he chose by death to go to God (that is) be and do, as God is and doth ; suffer for the ungodly : Certainly, if God loves you, as I believe he doth, he will bring you to more acquaintance with himself and son ; and shew you what it is, that makes you such strangers or enemies to the Cross of Christ.

As you are short of the second, and opposite to the third, so totally ignorant of the fourth : Indeed where is among us, that Messenger, that Interpreter, that one of a thousand, to shew to man his uprightness? Job 33. 23, 26. *That will pray unto God, and he will be favourable unto him, and render unto man his righteousness.* This Messenger sent from God, this Advocate and Interpreter, is the *holy Spirit*, who knows how to make crooked things straight, unsound things whole ; and to plead out an *uprightness* in man, to which God the Father of this *uprightness*, will be favourable, and render his *righteousness*, for all our righteousness is with him : But alas, we are either wholly ignorant of this, or do but flammer it out ; know not how to interpret it plainly. You believe

believe you have an *uprightness*, and I believe you have a *righteousness with God*, which he will *render* to you in his season. But when you come to know the *righteousness* that is *with the Father*, you will see *Kings* and *Bishops* have a *Father* also in heaven, and that *Christ with God*, is both *King* and *Bishop*; and the *King of Kings*, and *Bishop of Bishops*; nay possibly you may come to know and see their *righteousness*, before your own; and be glad of it, and willing to have your part and share with them; but you never yet were in heaven, nor have you seen it opened to you; but you measure things by an earthly and outward rule.

You may easily make a conclusion if you will; You are short of the second, opposite to the third, and ignorant of the fourth kind of reproof; then sure, you act much in the first, which is the worst. Turn back and look what it is.

If I declare this as a Law to you, I am very unjust if I do not submit to it my self; Therefore know this, that I do acknowledge, that reproof only to be spiritual, and from heaven, which convinces of *sin*, *righteousness* and *judgement*; and therefore if I do write either contrary to it, or short of it, I justly suffer condemnation for it, and am willingly subject

subject to it ; yea pleased and satisfied, that nothing shall stand in the earth, neither in my self, nor any others, but what is measured by this righteous, mercifull, and perfect standard : knowing the equity, authority and majesty of it, and subjecting my own life to it : I may justly require that all *men* and *Angels* should submit to it, as the only rule of all censures and administrations of justice : and so I do.

But observe and learn this also ; that as I would make the highest, the rule of my practice, as I ought if I be spiritual, and as is due to it, being the heavenly pattern (and therefore admit of the second and third only in order to this :) yet would I submit to the lowest ; I would administer only for God in his spirit, but bear that reproof which comes from the Devil, with patience, as coming through Satan from God : so *David* entertained *Shimei* his bitter curses : so far as I am willing or able to do the one, I am equally willing and able to bear the other.

But plainly the question now is, Have I so done? Formerly, when this act of taking away the life of the King, was committing, which is since punished, I did reprove the Army then of sin, in one book : and of righteousness in another : but they did refuse both, and neither repent

repent of *the sin*, nor receive *the righteousness*:
 And therefore sure it was not *conviction*,
 or not in *judgement*: Tis true, and because
 I administred it, not in power, nor in judge-
 ment, but in weakness, I have first suffered
 that judgement my self in my own spirit:
 but yet there was that truth in both, which
 God hath since justified, and they fulfilled.

For this last book, the reproofs of it are
 I know, so clear and convincing, that no
 man doth, or can deny, or resist them; I
 never heard any question the truth of one
 syllable of them: none rises up to plead a
 word, no not of excuse, for the reprov'd:
 As to reason and righteousness mens mouths
 are stopped; and opened only in wrathfull
 and angry reviling, and fretting against the
 hand that smites: which is a proof of the
 truth and weight of them; And so I accept
 your passions against me as a witness that
 you have life in you, and a sense of your
 reproof: The sore is launced, and the cor-
 ruption comes forth: And know this, that
 as there is reproof of *sin*, so there is of *right-
 eousness*: more then you are able to plead
 for your selves: Indeed if a reproof be just
 and righteous: the righteousness of God is
 in it, and that only is the righteousness of
 the creature: After your anguish is over,
 search

search for it, there it is; you will find that there, which you will be glad to make use of, to cover your selves, if the weather proves cold and sharp, as it is likely to be.

That which makes you sensible of the reproof of sin only, in the book, and not of righteousness, is this: It fell upon you in the very nick of time, when you were under judgement and condemnation from the Magistrate: which is, I confess, a very bitter cup: for men to fall of a sudden, from the highest of rule; and reigning, to shame and punishment; you were so drunk and drowned with this *wine of wrath*, and so full of anguish, that you had no sense of any thing but wrath: Men drunk with passion, while the fit lasts, are not capable of the love or reason of friends, but thrust them away as enemies: which renews my sense of my first and great error, in delaying till you were incapable of the reason of it, by reason of sore and greivous bondage.

During the extremity, you could hear but one thing, and that only which was against you: so you thought that all were your enemies; that did not say as you said: and that every thing that opposed you, was one and the same enemy; In that troubled state you conclude;

conclude, I was turned to the world, and backslidden to the present rising power: Great guilt, and great suffering meeting together, must needs much disturb the mind of poor man: If you in the trouble of your souls mistake me, and if my mind be clear and at peace, I may well bear it, and pity you, and so I do.

My business was to be *dayes-man* between adverse parties: I know I did not intrude into the office, but refused and excused, as *Moses: Who am I? they will not believe, nor hearken to my voice.* I am a man of no power or esteem: and so put it off till I was compelled to appear: and now I find the common fate of them that interpose, to part the fray; both parties fall upon him. You think I am turned Courtier: the Court thinks I am still a Fanatick: Tis but just I should receive both your neglects into me, standing between you: I am content to feel the evil of both, because I love both; and have in my soul good for both.

But you do not only judge me to be an enemy, but worse, an apostate brother; and more wicked then your open adversaries; for they only afflict the outward man, I fall upon your spirits and principles: We shall have occasion to discourse of spirits and principles

principles hereafter: but here I shall only
 mind you of two or three things.

First, It is I confess a very difficult thing
 to judge of principles and spirits, because
 they are inward: and therefore strangers
 and enemies cannot judge of them: It must
 be some friend or brother, that hath conversed
 with them: They that are still under them;
 are judged by them, and therefore they cannot
 judge of them: It must be some that
 have travelled through them, and have had
 experience of them: Spirits and principles
 are Gods: and who can judge the Gods? If
 any, they that have been amongst them, and
 tryed them: you may from this find some
 reason, why I should be chosen, to do this
 service for you: you generally know me;
 my way and work hath been trying of
 spirits many years.

Secondly, as it is difficult to judge spirits
 and principles; so it is hard to bear the judgement
 of them: Men can easier die and lay
 down their natural lives, then suffer their
 principles to be touched; Men of any common
 honesty, do freely expose their flesh
 to death, to save their Gods, although they
 be but Idols.

But thirdly, There are false Gods, false
 Spirits, you know it, and have familiarly ac-
 cused

cused others of it : you know I know it ; I
 confess I do, as we say, to my cost ; it may
 be to your profit : you have of late been
 hammering at a spiritual Antichrist, an Anti-
 christ within, and it is most true many such
 there are : & can you think that you should be
 acting so many years against Antichrist, & all
 the while be ignorant of an Antichrist within,
 who doth but now begin to peep out, and
 be discovered in you, and you not guilty
 of receiving false principles or spirits ? Can
 all this smoke of confusion, darkness, and
 enmity be amongst you, and no fire of false
 spirits ? Can there be so much reeling and
 staggering, giddiness and instability, and no
wine of fornication ? no sophisticated or adul-
 terated wine ? No spiritual harlots, or false
 lovers ? Must all the corruption, rottenness
 and filth, be laid upon the poor flesh ? Is
 there no evil spirit that came in, under the
 name of God, to joyn with ben, to beget
 these bastard brood of hypocrisie, covet-
 ousness and self-seeking ? Must man only
 bear the blame, and not the unclean spirits
 that are gone out ? Or must God and his
 name only stand accused, that he led his
 people by his Spirit into no better wayes ?
 Is it not then both justice to his name, and
 mercy to man, that these evil spirits and
 principles

principles should be discovered and detected? As it is proper for a friend or brother, that hath been partaker with you in them, and hath suffered greatly for it, to discover them; so it will be found a friendly and brotherly office to reprove them.

The plucking up these principles that lie deep and secret, is I know terrible, I have felt it so; It seems to threaten the rooting out of religion and godliness it self; I have found the same thing in my tryals: God comes against them, and his people engaged with them, in great jealousy, enraged as an enemy, in fiery indignation, and vengeance: because nothing but his vengeance can destroy them: but I have found great love in these fires of jealousy: yea love to our nature, and persons, with forgiveness to our iniquities, even then when he takes vengeance of our inventions.

I know you can neither be inwardly cleansed, nor outwardly saved, but by a death in your spirits, and loss of these principles which have deluded you, and brought you into this grievous snare: and therefore shall in love and good will to man: to your souls, lives, and liberties, proscribe my purpose, of manifesting those unsound principles, that have deceived and misled you:
and

and shall not spare for your crying or forwardness.

S E C T. V.

ANother objection against the Book, is, it is written much in Allegories; because the present state of things is there represented in and by ancient Scriptures: I acknowledge this to be a fault: and possibly it might arise from the first great error of delay: by keeping it in too long, it might be thus overgrown with hair, and get this dress: or at least, the same distrust that made me unwilling to write, might make me willing to shrowd my mind under those coverings of Scripture, wanting confidence to appear more open, or strength to go without that help.

I might affirm, that the things written, are not meer allegories; if they be so, they are to me barefull Idols: for I know nothing more abominable, then meer similitudes and forms of truth. I may affirm, that the same *eternal spirit*, that brought forth those works in *Adam* and *Noah*, of which you there read, doth for ever keep the living image of them in himself, and many ages after brought

them forth in *Moses* mind, and by *Moses* into writing: so that the *works* done, and the *words* writ, are one, and of one mind and spirit: The same eternal spirit having in himself the same eternal image, doth by it preserve the image written, or the words and history: The same eternal spirit, eternally *works*, and brings forth his own likeness in all times, and in our age: and the same spirit that *did* them, and *writ* them then, *doth* them now, and *reveals* them in that Book: *He that is wise will understand these things.*

But let them go for Allegories, and let me bear the blame of it: I am content it should go so, because I know we shall gain by all our miscarriages: grow wise by mistakes: For sin hath something of Physick in it; many times, if not alwayes, it hath its own cure with it, because it hath its own destruction in it: yea not only its own, but of other evils also: Tis certainly true to the godly, Dan. 11. 35. *And some of them of understanding, shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white:* And therefore I shall learn and get experience by this weakness. I now see plainly, the Scripture may be and is a vail: in some it is made use of, to cover filthiness: others make use of it out of fear to hide the truth of their

their hearts: It serves sometimes to reveal, and sometimes to conceal the mind: But withal I see there is no hiding place for me, I am necessitated to forsake my coverts, and come forth naked. Many have hid their poyson of error and enmity under Scriptures, & by them conveyed their deceit & lyes neatly wrapped up in similitudes & allusions: and that to destroy: I would convey peace and truth by it, and it will not be endured: I am beaten from these bushes, and necessitated to all kind of openess and plainness: I was unwilling to come to it, I confess: but I see, I must lay aside the Velvet scabbard, and draw the naked sword, or else must be content with such shamefull usage as no man can brar.

As sin, so shame hath its own cure, because its curse, with it. He that obscures himself for shame, or from it, and for fear of it is driven into a hole, must suffer double. And there is reason for it, because first he is weak, and then a coward, and so deserts himself, his name, his mind, his cause; and harrayes his life and righteousness, if he have any in him. If a man be upright, he need not go into a corner; if he do, he cannot stand upright in that hole and corner: holes are for Bats and Moles, for dark creatures; the light is for truth, and the open

heavens for uprightness; I hope I shall find room and place abroad; I cannot honestly abide any longer at home; sure the open heavens and earth are made for me, as well as others; why should not I enjoy them?

As I see a necessity, and my duty, to cast off all coverings; so I now experimentally find, how little you have of the Spirit of God, or of true reason: and that both these are exceeding low, in the minds of men at this time: If not quite slain, yet very feeble, weak, and ready to die; imprisoned also and shut up, under false imaginations and fancies of things: And therefore if we think to instruct men, it must be; not only by truth; but with that evidence and demonstration that may heal and recover, mens spirits and understandings.

I profess this, that the same eternal Spirit that wrought those things in *Adam* and *Noah*, and writ them by *Moses*, keeps that image in himself; and by it, contains and upholds the Scripture, the outward image of his eternal mind; and the same Spirit working according to himself, produces the same works now, from the same foundation; and from the same light, gives forth a discovery of them: yet because the works were wrought long since, and in a remote part of the

the

the earth from *England*, as in *Paradise*, in another world, and at *Mount Ararat*: therefore they are to us strange and forraign things, or at best, but allusions: Whereas to a spiritual man, all times and places are present, and all things in heaven, and earth, and under the earth, are gathered into one, even into *Christ*; In whole spiritual person we at once see and measure all things and ages: because they are all in him, and made by him.

I am sensible that there is as much shortness of reason in men, as want of the Spirit: For we are the natural children of *Adam* and *Noah*, and do as truly derive our natures from them, as we do from our Fathers or Grandfathers; yea we derive our selves more from them, because they are heads, roots, and common or publick Fathers or Stocks of mankind: our immediate parents are but means, branches, or conveyances of life from those roots to us: And we are more certainly and infallibly the children of *Adam* and *Noah*, then of our later Ancestors: And do receive greater benefit from them; Moral, Natural, and Personal blessings from *Adam*: these renewed by *Noah*, and conveyed to us by him, with the addition of civil and politick blessings: And these given by

Covenant

Covenant for ever, established with him and his seed for perpetual generations, Gen. 9. 11. Me thinks it shews great shortness, if not sensuality and slavery in mens minds, that will enquire after every foot of Land that was their Fathers and Grandfathers, and boast of their descent, if they have it from a Lordship in *England*, or a Mountain in *Wales*: and not enquire after their natural or moral properties, civil and religious priviledges, which they do derive, and may challenge by descent from these Ancestors; yea not only not enquire and search for this royal and noble pedigree, but reject it when produced: as if they were beasts, not men; and rose out of the earth and Sea, as the beast in the *Revelations*; and as if we were sons of the earth, that came into the world in some by-way, and were of another case then that which God made in *Adam*, or saved and Covenanted with in *Noah*: For truly, if the same life be in us, that God made in *Adam*, and saved, blessed, and covenanted with, in *Noah*; it will as naturally lead us to its outward and visible head; by a line of reason, as our spiritual life leads us to Christ, by a line of faith: For all ages, times, and states of things, wrought in our nature, are the proper objects of our understandings

standings and reason; and we, if we were not captivated to foolish and brutish dark-nels, and silly conceits, might as freely converse with them, as with present sensible things: yea we cannot discern any present thing, if we know not the reason and principles of it; and they are only to be seen in the first founding and forming of them: men are therefore drunk in fancies, and are not yet come to the exercise of reason, which fathoms and measures all the things of man, from the beginning to the end: indeed he is not truly a man, that comprehends not in some measure his own nature, in all ages: For the whole history of the world, and all the parts acted in it, are but *the things of a man*, and so pieces of our selves, if we are men: *Every thing is beautiful in his time; also he hath set the world in their heart, Eccles. 3. 11.* But saith he, *I know that whatsoever God doth, it shall be for ever, ver. 14.*

There is under these things which you call Allegories, real, substantial Truth: If you will not crack the shell to have the kernel, accept of my help: I will give forth that which is there written, concerning your selves at least, in a few plain affirmations: I have and do affirm concerning that party, that

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There is under these things which you call Allegories, real, substantial Truth: if you will not crack the shell to have the kernel, accept of my help: I will give forth that which is there written, concerning your selves at least, in a few plain affirmations: I have and do affirm concerning that party,
that

that acted against the life and power of the King, and are now slain.

1. They had many of them a work upon their spirits, and many gifts wherewith they were anointed.

2. These works and gifts were but *flesh*, but *earthly*, but *man*: after the image of the *first Adam*, which is of *the earth, earthly*; and not the *second Adam*, the *Lord from Heaven*; Not the *Lord*, nor from *Heaven*.

3. As they were *earthly* and *fleshy*, so they were *private* and *personal*: servile and ministerial: not *the Lord*: no largeness to comprehend the whole: nor authority to subject the whole; nor wisdom to rule the whole; either the whole *Nation*, or their whole *party*.

4. That they had Commission, only to destroy, subdue and punish the Church and Kingdom, standing in darkness and corruption: There never was in that party, or people, any union, strength, glory or success, in any thing, but in fighting and killing: And therefore could never attain any *Civil* or *Religious* body, either to be a *Church* or *Kingdom*, but an *Army* to fight: And for this work they were *anointed* and *sanctified*. So was *Cyrus* and his *Medes*, *Isa. 13. 3.* and

45. 1. which is not only a Legal Ministry, but a heathenish and bloody one.

5. That when they had subdued and broken down, they had nothing to build: no new *Law* or *Religion*, either from heaven or earth; either for themselves only; or for the whole Nation: No man, or sort of men, did ever so much as pretend, that they were *Legislators*; nor did ever tender to the Nation a Law, either from heaven or earth: but after they had cursed and rejected the old state, they dressed up the carcase of King, Lords and Commons; in a Protector, another House, and a Parliament; and had more stability in it, then in any of their inventions beside: They never could produce any thing, like unto the wisdom and reason of a Law; but every bird would chatter its own note; such broken stuff and absurd confusion never was.

6. They never had a publick or healing spirit; talk they did of the common good of all men: But their spirit was not only narrow, but stood in opposition to the spirit of the Nation: They were alwayes bound up most firmly and strongly to a private, and so to a selfish spirit, and could never be perswaded to accept of any thing that was large: *These miserable principles of*
Interest,

Interest, Self-preservation, and Necessity, began, carried on, and ended the War and Party.

7. Their gifts and work being fleshly and earthly, and having only figures and prophecies of the heavenly Kingdom of God, and not the nature and substance of that Kingdom with them, they could not administer it; but those prophecies and figures must cease and die, before the truth of the Kingdom can come forth.

8. Their gifts being only private and personal, and their work only to subdue and pull down, when they aspired beyond their ability and commission, to reign and to make new Common-wealths, and new Churches; they corrupted, into pride, enmity, oppression, covetousness, self-seeking; greedily devouring the wealth, riches, pleasures, honours and places, which they had cursed and condemned; and therein were more foul than those that they cast out.

9. And from corruption they fell into divisions, jealousies, persecuting others and one another, and so into distractions and confusions.

10. And by that, into their present rejection, from all power, authority, riches, and estates, into contempt, imprisonment, poverty;

poverty; plunged into a deep Baptism of afflictions and disappointment.

11. Into which if they can retire, with meekness, humility, and repentance, they will find rest, safety, and purifying: A condition more sweet, and clean: and as to God and their souls, more comfortable and profitable, then their former greatness, though it be to the flesh grievous.

12. There, the Book would leave them in quietness, and cover them from the wrath of their enemies; justifying them in the exercise of their private and personal gifts, as *best men*: And promising them a resurrection in a more large, pure, spiritual and durable state.

Ministries and Dispensations of a far more excellent glory then this, have perished; and why there should be such unwillingness to bury this, I know not: It died to me, and it me long since: and hath been ever since, corrupting, rotting, reeling and staggering, till it fell in pieces: It hath had its time, done its work, fulfilled its Ministry, emptied and poured out all the wrath it had upon others, and when it had executed others, it was a torment and vexation to it self, wanting other matter to work upon: The Party it self was weary of it, complained

plained of the vanity, corruption, and filthiness of it, were ashamed of it, annoyed by it; it stunk so in the nostrils of every ingenuous and enlightened spirit: none pleased at it, but for what they got and kept by it; none easie under it, but sick of it; and it self sick and hated, at last executed it self: to fulfill that word, *He that taketh up the sword, shall perish by the sword*: even by that sword they took up, and by that force they sowed. That Power, that Army they raised against the King, turns to the King, and against them that raised it: It was long dying, and every Party watched to have had it themselves, and were pulling and catching at it; some had it one while, and some another; whilst quarreling amongst your selves, it is faine into your Adversaries hands; and that I suppose is the great trouble; You would be content it should die, and you would execute it; but thought also, it belonged to the *Executor*, to have its riches, honours, power and success: But it seems there was an elder Brother, an heir alive, that you did not dream of: Though this work of yours, with its power, fall very contrary to your hopes, designs, purchases, and carnal confidences; yet not contrary to many hints of prophecies, in their own spirits,

rits, nor contrary to common justice and reason : For *first*, it hath been often said to you, and in you, *Not by might nor by power, but by my Spirit* : That an Army is a harsh, cruel, worldly, brutish, self-seeking power ; and that while it stood it was a burden to all, but them that received pay in it or by it : And *secondly*, if it doth fall, as you thought and desired, what must necessarily follow ? The antient Government of the Nation was suppressed by force ; if it had been by Light and Reason, that Light that removed one, would have shewed us a better ; but that we could never see : The old one, being suppressed, (and only suppressed, for all you could do, could not root it out) and no other prepared ; if that force that suppresseth it, be weary, sick, forsaken, and spent, whether should it go, but to its center, to the standing foundation ? If the force ceases that suppressed, what can be expected but that the old suppressed Government should rise ?

When therefore either the purity or truth of your spirits, or the power of your reason, shall prevail over your passions and losses, you will rest satisfied.

That you still are chafing and rubbing this dead body, to keep or recover life in

it, or are so lamentably angry for the loss of it, I would have that charity to hope, that it is, because you think: that holiness and godliness will be suppressed, and profaneness and wickedness will get up.

To satisfie you, know this assuredly: 1. Iniquity & unrighteousness had got a Sanctuary in and amongst you: and was lodged more secure in your professions and gifts, then in any company or state of men in the earth: and therefore 2. It is a most holy and righteous God that hath pulled down, or is pulling down that strong hold, that *spiritual wickedness in high places*: And 3. As God will not suffer iniquity to harbour under his own *name*, and *cause*: so he will not suffer it to rest upon the earth; for the earth is the Lords, and the creation is his. 4. Sin and ungodliness got ground of you, in your greatness and riches; you know it did: And while you thought to reform the world, you were deformed by it; and that the spirit that engaged for righteousness against the world, betrayed that cause; and fell into the unrighteousness and filth that it opposed: The Lord rejects this pretender, in great jealousy: know assuredly, God in this act is gone forth with vengeance against unholiness, and will manifest himself in such
holy-

holiness as you will not bear, if you were not plunged into suffering. 5. Know, God hath set his holy Son upon his holy hill of Zion: *The Lord reigns in righteousness*: and in righteousness hath brought you down for your unholiness: and if you have any true love to holiness: but a spark of the truth, of what you profess, you will rejoyce more in these fires, while they consume you, and your dross, then ever you did in your success and greatness: because God is now avenging himself of his wicked enemies, that lurked in the prayers, preachings, gifts, prophecy of his kingdom; and for the world, trouble not your self with that: he hath laid you aside as unworthy of, and false to the work of reformation, which you professed; he that refuses that spirit, because it was unholy and base, hath a more excellent spirit, which he will manifest to the purging of all things and all men: I cannot without some indignation pass this point: that men so palpably corrupt, and unclean, when under rebuke and judgement, and that for their impurity, yet should think, that they are the only Champions of holiness: as if the cause of holiness did die or fall with them. No, it is iniquity and hypocrisy that falls: There is an incorruptible holiness

ness, that is mighty, and will thoroughly purge away yours and others dross, and cleanse the whole earth.

As to the things that I write in my Book concerning his Majestie, and those principles of *rest* and *grace*, laid in *Noah*, and in that Covenant, which God made with him and his seed for *perpetual generations*; which I affirm to be the firm foundations of all the Kingdoms of the world: that *tried stone*, tried first in all Nations, and then laid in *Zion*, and is now the root of his Majesties restoration, after his long sufferings: I confess the things are deep, and remote from common understandings: What I feared and writ concerning these principles, I find true: that they are *little understood*, being yet low and under a veil, and therefore might appear remote and strange, both to his Majestie and the Nation, which may prolong our trouble, &c. They are so indeed, understood neither by one side nor other; Let them lie and sleep a while; foundations must do so: when shaking and troubles make us need them, they will be enquired after: if any do, there they are.

But my friends, let us reason a little together, and lay aside all allusions, and all passions, and soberly consider what evil was offered

offered to you in that book; After the case of the prisoners, and so of the partie, was represented (I still think to their advantage, more then ever I yet met with elsewhere) the desire was, to wave that tryal, and procure another Court, that should try principles, that might at least *superfede* or *succeed that*. What the issue of that Court and tryal is, we now see; and had reason to foresee. Supposing his Majesty and the Law of the Nation, to be offended, and provoked against them that took away the life of the late King: what probable or rational way was left, to save the Prisoners; but by moving that they and their principles, and so the principles of the whole party, should be tried in a higher and more spiritual Court: A trial must be; the common Law, and ordinary way certainly destroyes both life, liberty, and estate: To avoid that, another must be proposed: What rests to be tryed; but opinions and principles? And how can that be done humanely, but by such a Court, and by such a Law, as is there propounded? If those principles are good, they may not only be justified, but prevail to rule: if they be not found so, then their deceit will be discovered, your judgments delivered from them, and the Prisoners

soners and Party in a fair way to be pardon-
ed by, and reconciled to the present power :
Or else a third and middle state would have
appeared : A large, righteous, and merciful
Law might have been produced, that might
have united, comprehended, and saved both
Parties : I confess freely, I do believe and
know, it is to be had, and will come forth,
whenever the righteous and good Law of
God, may obtain among men, and right rea-
son may be heard.

I confess to obtain this, I did declare to
his Majestie, my sense and judgement of
your principles; which I have long had, and
do still retain, upon a judgement made by
many and great trials in my spirit; and con-
firmed by constant experience, much exami-
nation and deliberation : And being many
years fully convinced of, humbled, and
fore afflicted for that prophane, carnal,
cruel, and selfish spirit, in which this work
was begun and carried on, I did and do still
offer them up to trial; and was and am still
willing, that his Majestie and the Nation
might see, that they need not seek the lives
of men, seeing they might have the prin-
ciples, which is the best satisfaction can be
given.

It is that which I have long desired, even
of

of this Party, when they were up, That we might have a Bar of Religion, and Reason, where the right of all parties in the Nation may be fairly argued and heard; but could never obtain it: I do judge it the true and only Christian, and humane way, to come to Peace; and therefore I shall and do earnestly desire it: *There is nothing in the earth that I do seek more then this, That my mind and judgement may be tried by the Reason and Religion of the Nation; or the Reason and Religion of the Nation, tryed by my judgement.*

Had it been a known enemy, that had propounded such a thing to you, why should you be angry at it? or why not embrace and seek it? For a people that profess themselves Spiritual and Saints, to engage in a war, to the expence of so much blood for their Religion, and at last waver an argument for it; it is strange: you will sure in time examine the reason, why it should be so; And consider whether that cause be truly Christian, that avoids a Christian trial; that shrinks from reason, and will not appear against its enemy, but in arms, with a rude and tumultuous rable: Truth and integrity, cannot but rejoyce in a combate of Reason: and it is gross guilt

and carnality, either in the cause or persons, that declines argument, and flies to brutish force.

If you fear treachery, that your principles might have been drawn out, and so your persons exposed to danger : That wisdom that makes you suspect, would enable to prevent such danger : freedom of discourse, is commonly granted in time of arbitration ; with security against taking advantage by such discourses : But alas, neither you, nor any other, no not your enemies, can possibly bring forth your principles so ill-favoured, as they have appeared in action : I dare say, there is no man in this Nation, but his Reason or Religion will teach him a better state of things, then hath been acted in the Nation, since these wars begun ; that no mans mind or reason is so crooked and absurd as the series of actions have been : It will be found that poor men, have been hurried and thrust into many things, either by company, incogitancy, the influences of the stars, or rather the predominancie of evil spirits, by the irresistible fate of times, or some superiour over-ruling determinations of Providence : Few men have exercised judgement in these wars ; either humane or Christian, but have been tossed
about,

about, by the earth-quakes, and violent commotions of greater powers : And if we could come but to look into mens minds, when passions and furies are over, we shall see that men are better things, then they have appeared in this Scene of War : And that at bottom there is but one man, one nature, one religion, and that a good one : Therefore I know I am a friend to you and to mankind, in seeking to draw forth the reason of men, to sift and trie principles and opinions. But there is so much jealousie and accusation in the world, that men are not only jealous of all others, but of themselves also. If men misjudge mankind, they must needs misjudge themselves : the first they do, it is too manifest : and therefore cannot be wholly free from the second : It is sure your too hard thoughts of your selves, and suspition of your principles, that makes you afraid to appear in them : I know there is a strong passion of fear upon you ; a great dread of sufferings in your minds : And all your thoughts are, how to bear the evil of this day ; so drowned in a sense of it, that you can hardly think a thought of any thing else, nor admit of a proposition of peace and safety to your selves.

It is true and evident, that the way and
course

course of your actions, have been directly against the antient power, authority, and Law of the Nation : And you are unhappily set in an opposite and contrary spirit to them : and have done as much against them, as you could : You thought you had laid them all low enough, and had buried them so deep, that they could never rise again : And that you had gotten into a *heaven*, into the *Kingdom* of Christ, or so near it, that all danger of suffering had been quite past :

But now you see, that all the weight and strength of your Prayers, Gifts and Knowledge, together with your Armies, cannot keep down the things that you opposed, nor uphold you against them : But contrary to all your thoughts, when you were strongest, they rose up against you. A state, law, and power of a Nation, is a mighty thing ; and to rise up from death and the curse, (whether you had sent it) provoked against you by so many and great injuries, must needs be very terrible to you : It would scare a man to see his enemy alive, that he thought he had slain, were it but a single person : But to find the whole Magistracie and Ministry of the Nation, the King, Nobility, and Gentrie, with many thousands of oppressed people, rise up against you, in all the power
and

and strength of the Nation , Civil and Military ; (all which have suffered from you) I know it must needs astonish and amaze you ; coming upon you so much contrary to the assurance you had (as you thought from God) of a better state : I do not wonder when I consider it, that you are overwhelmed with fears, and despair of receiving any good from them, that rise from that pit of destruction, into which you had doomed them for ever : looking upon them as you do, as Antichristian, enemies to God, and for it rejected, you cannot expect good from them.

You are so oppressed with the evil that is upon you, that you sink into resolutions of suffering, and judge your selves lost for the present ; and your thoughts are only to bear the indignation that is upon you : You could not forgive your selves, nor your enemies ; neither could your enemies forgive you : I do forgive them, and you ; and so shall, do the worst you can : For my love is absolute, without condition, and therefore without repentance : In love to you, I proposed a sacrifice, and an atonement : Which is not your honesty or godliness : but these things which we call principles, (I care not to call them so any longer) I mean opinions or re-
nents,

nents, which I say, are delusions, deceits, or at best, broken, imperfect, and short apprehensions, or mis-apprehensions of things, that have misled you in all your business, into such crooked pathes; that perverted your Counsels, corrupted your spirits, and made you a vexation to your selves and friends, a burden and scourge to the Nation: These would I have found out, and sacrificed, that not only your honesty and uprightness may be discovered; which is certainly another thing from them; but that your lives and liberties may be preserved also.

But neither side, would regard what was offered: You would not part with your opinions, called principles, nor offer them to tryal; Neither would the Law, and authority of the Nation accept of any such sacrifice: but being of a more outward and earthly nature, hath required outward and bodily satisfaction: What could not be resisted, we must be content patiently to endure,

S E C T. VI.

WE may now hope, that this scene of blood is over, and that the Law and Authority of the Nation is satisfied, if it be not again provoked by new attempts upon the peace: My soul is a friend to peace, and an enemy to destruction: And therefore I shall, I hope, perpetually seek Peace, and endeavour to prevent mischief: May I now obtain so much favour of you, in your low and afflicted state, as calmly and rationally to consider, what I have and do propose; weigh it well.

I do affirm, that there is that good in the office and institution of a King; and that good in the nature and person of his *Majesty*, as a man and a Prince, if we consider no more, that you may live under him, with more Peace, spiritual comfort, more holiness, and godliness, and with less sin and evil, then you have done all these wars, or since: This I affirm upon knowledge of a sure root and foundation laid by God and Jesus Christ, in the beginning of the world (now manifested and revealed) so firmly and strongly, that no humors, passions, or lusts of men, nor any spirits and powers

powers of darkness can overthrow: so that what ever men say or do, the foundation is sure; they may prejudice themselves, and deprive themselves of the comfort and benefit of it; but the foundation remains firm: for it is that *tried stone*, that hath born all Nations, in all ages.

I have likewise affirmed to his Majestie concerning you, and your way and work: that the spirit of that Ministrie, in which you acted against him, is dead: that your power both Civil and Military hath resigned to him; and that the principles, or opinions being proper only for that work of destroying, and of their own nature weak and short, are reducible: And then, that there are in you, those gifts and abilities, that may be of singular use to him, and the Kingdom: So that upon a good understanding between you, the King may be happy in you, and you in him.

As the thing propounded is not only just and *honest in the sight of all men*: but also good and profitable for all Parties: *To you*, no less then saving of life, liberty and estate: *To his Majestie*, security, honour, and the great advantage of the hearts, affections and judgements of a great and considerable people: And to all the Nation, that rich blessing

bleſſing of Peace: in knowledge and right underſtanding: So the means propounded to this end, is as innocent and ſafe: That wiſe, ſober, and ſpiritual men, of large hearts, and indifferent in their judgements, ſhould have the bearing and trying of mens principles and opinions.

The end being unqueſtionably good, peace and love: and the means to that end proportionable, a trial of mens opinions before the wiſeſt and beſt in the Church: We cannot reaſonably doubt of a good effect: except we conclude one of theſe two things: that there is not with men, or in the Church, that Grace and Spirit of Chriſt, which is able to judge and lead into a way of Peace: or elſe that men are not willing to receive that bleſſing of Peace, though it ſhould be manifeſted: No man can conclude the firſt, without the guilt of unbelief: and denying the truth of the Promise of God, that his *ſpirit ſhall abide* with his people *for ever*: nor the ſecond without great injury and uncharitableneſs to mankind: But if his word and Spirit be with us; and that Word and Spirit be ſufficient for that end, whereunto it is given, which is to purifie, enlighten, heal and unite the body of Chriſt; (to deny it is blaſphemy againſt that Spirit) then walking

walking according to the rule of that Word and Spirit, we need not doubt of obtaining that end, which is so much according to his own nature; which is love, peace and salvation.

Why you should think that such a proposal should come from an enemy, I can impute it to nothing but this, the extremity of your anguish, under your sore and grievous loss and disappointment; which makes all things seem harsh, while the mind is drowned in that sense: It is true, you meet with sharp reproof there; but you must come to find true love in the severest reproof, before you can be soundly healed. Proposals of a Treatie and Peace, for the preventing of present and imminent danger, use not to be the way of enemies: If such things should come from a professed enemy, I think the nature of the things deserves acceptance, and not scorn or reviling: I confess I think you have wronged me, and the Book, and I therefore might require reparations of you; I know in time you will give it: There is that right and reason in you, which will give me satisfaction, when it shall recover it self, from the passions of fear, grief and anger; which now darken and suppress it.

In the mean time let us consider, whether there be not something in the Book, that is yet improveable for the good of the whole Party that stand in opposition to the present Government, and so are in danger to be destroyed by it.

We hope his *Majestie*, and in him, the Law is satisfied, and by that sacrifice of blood that hath been shed, is attoned, as to past things: yet the breach is not healed, but your spirits are still set in opposition to the power of the Nation; and the Law and Power of the Nation, looks upon you with jealousy and an evil eye, thinking that yet you may attempt against the Peace of the Kingdom: Great discontent appears in you; it cannot be hid; all endeavours are used to uphold, and revive the cause; and consequently, that enmity and war that hath formerly been acted against his Majesty and Party.

This is seen, known and felt; and doth undoubtedly provoke the Power of the Nation, to endeavour the suppressing the Party, for preventing future inconvenience: It cannot be otherwise, all men do it: When you had the Power, you did as they now do: you interrupted their meetings, and required Oathes of them: This now fills the prisons,
 G ruines

ruines many Families, exasperates mens Spirits into bitterness and wrath, which destroys the sweetness and comfort of religion, wounds the life and power of godliness, and grieves the good spirit of love and peace in Christ.

What ever you think of it now, I know it is in it self a good and mercifull work, and will be so acknowledged by you in time ; to reconcile a poor broken people, (guilty by Law, and their own consciences,) to the authority and power of the Nation, in which they live. For a naked people, to be in their judgements and affections zealously set against the Law and Government of a Nation , which is provoked, and enraged ; newly recovered and restored ; experienced, fore-warned, and fore-armed against them ; what ever may be expected hereafter, there is in it, apparent ruine for the present : Alas, a Law and Power, is an Iron Scepter ; and in the hand of a self preserving spirit (such as was in you, and is in all men yet) must needs be hard to them that are professed enemies to it.

The consideration of it wounds my soul, and affects my bowels of compassion to you, which urges me to do what I can, to prevent misery to your persons and families :

And

And therefore I do earnestly entreat you to consider seriously, whether your bottom upon which you stand, in this divided and opposite state, to the present power and Government of Church and Kingdom, be sufficient to bear you up, against what you are likely to suffer if you persist.

The foundation upon which you stand, is this ; You presume and conclude, First, That you are the select and only people of God ; his Zion, and *Israel* ; the true and only Gospel Saints : And those that you oppose are *Egypt*, *Babylon*, the *World*, and *Antichristian*. Secondly, that your way in which you have and do walk, and the works that you have done, and would do again, are according to the pure word and Law of God ; and that which you oppose, is all *Wickedness*, *Superstition*, and *Idolatry* : Thirdly, That the way in which you have been engaged, and upon which you stand, is the way of God according to his will and word, and therefore hath been and will be owned and justified by him.

Supposing all this, that you are the people of God, and Zion, in Gods way and word, engaged in his cause, against *Babylon* and *Antichrist* ; there is then an unquestionable ground and assurance of a blessed success,

from the manifold promises of the Scripture.

But if this be not true; and that you in this state, and in this opposition, are not *that body* that shall attain those *promises*: And *this* be not *the only way of God*, in which you walk; and this *war* and engagement, be not the means appointed by God, to attain that glory you expect; then be your intentions never so good and zealous, your prayers never so fervent, your gifts never so many, your constancy never so great, yet you will fail; and the further you proceed in it, the greater your loss will be.

If all this should be true; that you should be *the people*, yours *the way*, *war the means*: yet if you fail but in the circumstance of time: if this be not the time determined for the fulfilling of what you expect; there is righteous and mercifull reason, for your retreating, from such an opposition and engagement.

To have faith exercised, about the promises of God, to be fulfilled in these latter dayes to his people, is an excellent thing; whereby God will have glory, his people deliverance, and the whole earth peace; But you may have a sight of this at a distance, and know assuredly, you shall have your share
of

of it; and be entertained with great joy concerning it, have strong perswasions about it: and yet may not attain it, in that state of enmity, and opposition in which you stand, but in another more large, holy and spiritual way; Or the whole Church may enjoy it here, and your souls for ever: and yet your bodies may fall as *carkasses in the wilderness*, for the impurity, carnality, uncharitableness, frowardness, and enmity of your way, and spirits in your present state: And therefore it is love and mercy to you, to put you upon a thorough tryal and examination of your bottom, spirit, and way.

I consider not now your particular forms of Worship, which are various, and opposite one to another; Nor your private and personal holiness, fear of God, conscience of his commands, obedience to his word, so far as you know; which are not only to be admitted, but approved and encouraged in a right way, and in a right spirit: but I would consider, the way, actions, and work of the whole body, in this publick engagement, against the Government of the Nation: and your private forms, gifts and godliness as they have acted, and still continue in the same opposition: in order to

turn your minds towards that, which else is like to ruine your selves and families.

If this great affair and cause, in which you have acted, and do constantly persist in, be the right, and that you are *the people*, yours *the way*, this *the means* and time to attain the glorious things expressed in the Scripture; then you must have these two things for your foundation, strength and rule; the *Word* and the *Spirit* of God: If you are led by them, and stand in them, you will certainly prevail: if not, you will fall, and must repent.

We may consider them either joyntly or severally; for though they are two, yet they are one also, and never separated.

Let us consider the word of God, the Scriptures: There are three great works of God, declared in it: The deliverance of the children of *Israel* from *Egypt*, The redeeming of them out of *Babylon*: And the grace and salvation revealed in the Gospel: We have built our work upon all these, and do think that our cause is the same with them all: and therefore we have been fed continually with strength which we got, as we could, from them all: But whether our work do justly & evenly square to any of them is the question: I am fully
satisfied

satisfied in my self, that it doth not: And that you, if you will be ingenuous, and in any measure of uprightness, examine what you have done, you will quickly find; that you have not in your whole business come near your foundation, and pattern: I shall only hint some few things to you, as they do occur, and leave you to consider the rest.

Only by the way, be perswaded to think and feel, that you are but men, and may err: many may err: many good men may err: actually you have erred: though you be much better then others, yet you may err, and err greatly; sometimes the best people err most; *Israel* sinned beyond all the Heathen: God will shame and humble all, and make the first last, and the last first: the best worst, and worst best: *The Jews that seek*, shall not attain: *the Gentiles that sought not*, shall attain. You differ one from another, and so must err one against another: you have *all sinned and come short of the glory of God.*

And therefore you may have erred, as to this business, fundamentally, and either not know your bottom, or be upon a false bottom And so through loss and missing, come to attain a true & right bottom. If once you be but

willing to be tried, you will quickly see much.

SECT. VII.

Consider first, Whether this great business, you have and are engaged in, do justly and evenly square to the first foundation, *Israels* deliverance out of *Agypt*; It hath been so believed, so prayed, preached, and prayesd but not so done; For

1. *Israel* was visited by God; he came expressly to *Moses*, spake to him in the bush; when he had called him, he sent him to *Israel* to lead them forth: they stirred not till he had proved his commission; But we can boast of no such visit; the troubles of the Nation gave us opportunity to deliver our selves: the necessities of the Parliament made us usefull, whereby we got power, and so by degrees broke the yoke that was upon us.

2. *Israel* had a King and High-Priest given of God, to be their Leader and Guide: he was also himself their Leader; he went before them in the wilderness, in a pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, and never left them: We had neither King nor Priest, no Guide nor Leader, but left to shift for our selves, and wander from one thing to another

another, as our own crooked and blind reason led us.

3. They had Officers sent by God, which did call them forth, and then continue to judge them, and God maintained his own, and their authority over them: We were called out at first, not by Officers from God, but by part of that we call *Egypt*, or the world; by the Parliament, which we used as *Egypt*, or *Egyptians*, or worse; we overthrew them and their authority.

4. *Israel* had a *Law* given them from heaven, and one *Tabernacle* built for all, according to the pattern; in the Mount of God: We never had a *Law* from heaven to govern us, but were left to the Laws and Customs of *Egypt*, of the world: No pattern for a *Tabernacle*, but every one built according to his own mind; which must needs make division, and so bring confusion.

5. God destroyed *Egypt* with his Plagues, and armies of *Frogs*, *Lice*, *Flies* and *Locusts*; but we our selves were these Armies, that eat up this *Egypt*: we were the *Frogs*, *Lice* and *Locusts*, that vexed the *Egyptians*.

6. *Israel* were led out of *Egypt*, into a Land that the Lord their God gave them:
We

We could never get out of *Egypt*, nor had we any Land to go to : They were driven out of *Egypt* by *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* ; we drove *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians* out of *Egypt* ; and kept *Egypt* for our selves : the goodly buildings, the riches, honours, preferments, and all the Laws, Ordinances, and Customs of *Egypt* ; and could do no other wayes : for we had no Land of our own to go to.

7. *Pharaoh* and *Egypt* first tasked and oppressed, then persued *Israel* : We had got the way, of tasking and oppressing *Egypt*, and then persued *Pharaoh* into the Sea, and beyond the Sea. *Pharaoh* and his *Charets* and *Horse-men* were drowned in the red Sea, for his persuing *Israel* : And now our *Charets* and *Horse-men*, are drowned in a kind of a Sea of confusion ; and it was for persuing with endless and implacable enmity.

Here is a wide difference betwixt us and our foundation ; and as wide an end : There, *Israel* overcame, here, *Egypt* overcomes : And if that be our bottom, and we build so very far from it, we cannot expect a better end.

Let us consider the second ground, the redeeming of *Israel* out of *Babylon* ; whether we have been truer to that Copy : we have
made

made great use of those Scriptures, Prophecies and Promises; how justly, must be examined.

1. First *Israel* did not destroy their enemies; *Babylon* and the *King of Babylon* was destroyed by the hands of the *Medes* and *Persians*, under the command of *Cyrus* a heathen Prince, but anointed for that purpose: But we have destroyed *Babylon* ourselves; and therefore have hitherto acted but the part of *Cyrus*; the part of *Israel* is yet to come.

2. In the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, God visited them by a *King* of their own, *Moses*, who was *King in Jeshurun*: In this deliverance, God visited them in the *Emperour Cyrus*, and charged him to build his house: And the *Jews* moved not but by Proclamation, Command, and Commission from the Prince. When a succeeding *King Artaxerxes*, forbade them to build the City, they ceased; until *Darius* made a new Decree, enlarged their Commission, and contributed to the work: Afterwards another *Artaxerxes* was stirred up, to give command for the carrying on the same work, and supplying of all the wants of the builders: We had no such authority for our work: but on the contrary, we went forth upon our own heads,

heads, at our own pleasure, according to our own minds: without any authority; and overthrew the Authority of the Nation, because they would not joyn with us.

3. *Israel* were the known people of God, visibly distinct from the world; owned to be so: Even by those Princes in whose Dominions they were: God gave them *honour in the sight of the heathen, where they were carried captive*: We have no such visible character, no such justification; but assume it to our selves, and destroy others, because they would not so *honour* us.

4. *Israel*, as they were outwardly and visibly *the people of God*, so they were the known heirs of that Countrey, to which they went; they had an unquestioned Civil right to it; although they had been for a time, sequestred from it for their sins: And when they returned home, they recovered but what they lost, enjoyed their own Temple, Priests, Tithes, Offerings: But we, not content with our own inheritance, usurp other mens rights: Indeed the parallel fits the other side much better: who have been for their sins driven out, and now return to their inheritance; to their *Law, Church, Temple and Worship*, from which they were sequestred and driven away

5. When

5. When God brought *Israel* out of *Babylon*, he instituted the same Officers, *Prince* and *Priest*, that he did, when he brought them out of *Egypt*: For *Moses* and *Aaron* then, there was *Zerubabel* and *Josbua* now: and to those was given a spirit that would scatter confusion; a line and plummet, the seven eyes, the fulness of the Spirit, to furnish them for the repairing the Temple and City of God: *The two anointed ones, that stand before the Lord of the whole earth: which through the golden pipes, empty the golden oyl out of themselves.* And therefore it was then, not by might nor by armies, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord: But alas, we have no King, nor Priest, no anointing to scatter confusion, but confusion scattered us: Our Motto may be contrary to theirs: *Not by Gods Spirit, but by might and by Armies*: For we were successful in nothing else, but in force and arms: Therefore if the Scripture be a rule to measure your actions, you must confess you have grossly erred, and walked not only in crooked, but in contrary pathes to it.

Consider fairly the third dispensation of God to his people, the grace and salvation revealed by Christ and the Spirit in the Gospel: *Gospel-Ordinances, Gospel-Saints,*
Gospel

Gospel Order, and a *Gospel-Spirit*, have been much spoke of : I am grieved at my heart for you, to think that any men should be so grossly deceived, or deceive themselves, as to perswade themselves, that such works as you have done, and such a way as you are engaged in, should have any countenance or authority from the holy and pure Gospel of of the *Lamb of God* : For though you have endeavoured to frame your outward forms of Worship, according to the outward letter of the Gospel : yet you have denyed and opposed both the *Doctrine* and *Spirit* of the *Lamb* and his *Apostles* : and that not only in those things which you call miscarriages, but in the main of your work and business.

I. First Christ begins his Ministrie with blessing; he blessed the poor in Spirit, them that mourn, the meek, the merciful, the peace-makers, the persecuted : so he taught, so he practised : he wash himself a *Lamb* ; he sent his Disciples out as *Sheep among Wolves* ; and commanded, resist not evil, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you, that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, &c. This was the Law of his whole Life and Death ; He that will be my Disciple

Disciple, must deny himself, and take up his Cross, and follow me. Alas, alas, how can you look into this glass, and not blush to see the deformities of your whole work, how directly contrary yours is to this: Instead of *blessing*, you have *cursed*; What he *blessed*, you reject; the meek, the mourners, the merciful, the peace-makers, the persecuted; you begun this war, because you would not endure persecution: Instead of *not resisting evil*, you have inflicted evil, and would not be resisted in it: Instead of *loving enemies*, you have hated and destroyed them: Instead of *blessing them*, you curse as bitterly as you can: Instead of *bearing persecution*, you persecute: Instead of *denying self*, you fight for self: Instead of *taking up the Cross*, you flie to force to avoid it, and load others with it, make others bear it. So hath the blessed God set things, that they that are *not with him, are against him*: And they who refuse to bear the Cross, must become Crucifiers of others: All men that will not endure persecution, they will persecute; they that cannot or will not be killed, will kill. So have you done, and therefore been *enemies to the Cross of Christ*; and so enemies to Christ himself; for he is crucified in all crucifying: And they that *hate the flesh*
of

of the whore, and burn her with fire, they make war with the Lamb also, Rev. 16. 14. So have you made war with the Lamb, with his doctrine, nature, life and death

2. Christ our Lord, *humbled himself*, and became *a servant* to others; you have exalted your selves, as far as you could, into all kinds of places of honour: *He became poor, that he might make others rich*: you have made others poor, that you may be rich: He suffered the errors and *contradictions* of sinners; but sinners (those that you have judged sinners) have suffered your contradictions, in your several Oathes and Impositions: He *bore the infirmities and diseases* of the whole Nation; the whole Nation have born your infirmities and diseases, your blindness, haltings and staggerings: He bore the *sins and curse* of the people; The poor people have born yours, both sin and curse: He *died*, that others might live; You *kill* others, that you may live your selves: He *suffered, the just for the unjust*; but others have suffered from you, because they resisted your unjust power and will: I believe you have been misled by an evil spirit; and therefore I pity you: Alas, you have *walked in darkness, and not known whether you have gone*. You did not think your way

way and work had been so contrary to the way of Christ: you found it weak and short; but now you will see, that it is in the whole, from the rise of it, to the end of it, contrary to the nature and spirit of the Lamb, and to his Law and Doctrine.

3. *Christ in the Gospel*, brought forth a *new Creation*, a *new and Spiritual Kingdom*, a *new Law*, *new Ordinances*, *new Ministers*, *new Worship*: And this, not in opposition to, nor to the destruction or disturbance of, any authority, either of the Jews or Gentiles; but he taught and practised obedience to both: But you have only disturbed and destroyed, what you could, of the Government of the Nation; but have brought forth no better, no *new Kingdom*, or *new Law* for the people: and what forms of worship you have made for your selves, and several Parties, are but some broken pieces of the letter, of the old Apostolical frame, set up in another spirit.

Let us compare your work and way with the Spirit, and his holy and pure Ministrie: He came from Heaven, himself, cloathed with an outward and visible appearance, in great Majestie and Power, openly manifesting himself to all Nations, in mighty signs and wonders, that were his own and not ano-

thers : He did truly glorifie Christ, and set him up above his enemies, making them know that Jesus was the Son of God, and that the *Kingdom of God was with men* : And this to the face and in the consciences of all the powers of the earth : He formed and built a *Church upon the rock*, from the *heavenly pattern* : He came from heaven, and carried the Saints into heaven, and made them *sit down together with Christ, in the heavenly* : He led them *into the holiest*, and brought them to *Mount Zion* indeed, the *City of the living God*, the *heavenly Jerusalem*, and to an *innumerable company of Angels*, to the *general Assembly*, &c. Have you had the substance and truth of any of these things with you ? You have been able to talk of them to notion, fancy, or prophetic something of them, which others could not ; But had you had *this heavenly glory*, you needed not your earthly Armies, nor worldly Politics, nor the help of profane and loose people and practices to save you.

The Spirit had his own manifestation, his own *union*, his own *tongues*, *interpretation of tongues*, his own *signs and miracles*, his own *power and glory*, pure, holy and clear ; his own *anointing* was sufficient to *lead into all truth* : But instead of manifesting, you have by

by your wayes extreamly darkened others, your selves, and the name of Christ, and Religion which you professed : Instead of tongues, and interpretation to others, you were in such confusion, that you could not your selves understand one another : you pretended to signal mercies and successes; but they are not spiritual, but such as are common to others : so is victory in battle : Instead of being led into all truth, alas you were led into all kinds of contradictions, and into many erroneous wayes, which proved to be lyes and delusions to you.

And therefore you must not any longer boast of the *Spirit of God* : You cannot shew that he is descended upon you, or that he hath led you, as he did the Apostles, into a heavenly state : You are still in the world, in the gross uncleanness of the world, in the wrath, malice, destruction, pride, covetousness, deceit of the world.

You are, and have been, under the Ministry or Judgement of the *Spirit* : In his giving you up to corruption, that you may be manifest to be but men, and not born from on high : In blowing upon and inebriating your Counsels ; In scattering and dividing your spirits : In rejecting your work and way, as not his own, as abominable to

his purity, goodness, truth and righteousness : In judging of you in the sight of all the world, for abusing his name : and in kindling a fire upon all your riches, honours, and works; a fire of jealousy *that burns like an Oven*; which will purifie you : And therefore you are in this day, nearer to the *Spirit of God*, then you were from the first day you engaged.

Consider now what ground you stand upon, in your present opposition to this Power and Providence : You cannot stand up with *Moses and Aaron*, in their Office: for you have not led us out of *Egypt* into *Canaan*; but have been intangled and fettered in *Egyptian darkness* : Nor can you stand up with *Jashua and Zerubbabel*; they scattered confusion, and brought *Israel* out of *Babel* : you have led us and your selves into a *Babel of confusion* : Nor can you stand before the son of man and his Spirit; alas, you are fallen before him, judged and rejected by him for ever; never to be restored in that vile and abominable way, in which you stood and still are.

I desire you to remember what is my intent in this present discourse; it is to undeceive you, and to bring you off from those unsound principles, in which you are engaged,

gaged, and in which you will ruine, if you be not delivered out of them : And to shew your good reason for inviting you, as I did in my Book, to offer up your Principles to a fair tryal, in order to satisfie his Majestie, and reconcile you to his Government : And if you consider what I have said here, it will be found no wicked design, but righteous and merciful Counsel, both to your selves and to the Nation.

S E C T. V I I.

BESIDES the three former great dispensations in Scripture, which you have seemed to make the bottom of your Cause and Way : There is one thing more, which sometimes you have glanced at with your eye, as a rule to you; and that is the Prophetical Scriptures, yet unfulfilled, and especially the *Revelations* : You have sometimes harped at them, and caught hold of some broken pieces of them : But you never could attain such a knowledge of them, as to make them either a foundation or rule : I do believe, and know, that the *Revelation* is a line, drawn from Christ his first appearing, quite through that state, unto his second appearing,

ing, and leads the Church both into her suffering and captivity ; and out of it into glory : And therefore doth discover the state of the Gospel-Church, from the beginning to the end : from Christ his Ministrie to the glorious and eternal Kingdom of God : And so all the works of God, in these times, both in Churches and Nations, come under the Law or Line of that Book.

And therefore those revelations rightly opened, will extricate the Church, from her Babylonish enemy confusion, and enable her to build up her self again in glory, peace, light, and love : That line will also measure the late revolutions in this Nation. For I am fully satisfied that so considerable a work as this hath been, in and about both Church and Kingdom, was certainly in the Council of God, and also expressed in his word.

But this much I know, that you have been as ignorant of that book, as you have been of your own work ; and that you have not had, nor yet have *a reed to measure*, either the one or the other by : neither can you rationally fix your work upon any one part of that book : Nor have you had light to make that, or any part of it, or of any Scripture, a Law to you in your work : but have been driven on by snatches, without any rule

rule or judgement, or any dependence of one thing upon another. Which is not the understanding of a *Man or Christian*: but in plain terms, it is the *beast*: Being led and leading by impulses, or by present sensible, and occasional things, and not by any certain rule. If the *beast* and his *mark, image and name*, be not yet overcome in your spirits, as certainly he is not, then though you had power and a *kingdom*, it was but *with the beast*, and but *one hour*. What that means, read and you may understand.

Having said upon the Prophecies and Revelations, which are the only written rule of the dispensations of God to his Church and people in these dayes, for your better instruction hereafter, know these three things: 1. It is not wise or safe, to appear in any publick business, before you understand clearly, by the unsealing of that book, where you are; what you are to do, whether you are to go, and what will be the end. For if that be the only declaration of Gods mind, concerning the government of his Church and Kingdom, in these latter ages, we are not to stir, either upon guesses, presumptions, or broken hints: nor to be moved by a crowd, a noise, a multitude which are uncertain and deceitful things, and will fail

any people that follow them, but upon clear knowledge of that only rule. 2. That ignorance of a rule to act by, and forwardness to attempt without a rule, in such great and weighty matters, do declare that there is yet an enemy among you; the *Prince of darkness*, which hinders you from seeing your rule: And also much fleshly, unmortified worldly matter, that dares move, without the knowledge of that rule: And where these two are; an enemy that blinds, and a bold impatient, unmortified mind, to follow him blindly, no wonder if *both fall into the ditch*. 3. You are, and have been fulfilling some part of that book, it is no question; if you know not what part of it, it is but reasonable that you should fear, that it is an evil part: you little think how bad it is: *Where there is darkness, there is also a lye*: Therefore seeing you know not, nor can say what it is, I may say it is far worse then you imagine: you shall know more hereafter, if God please.

We have tried your state, work and spirit: First by the Law of *Moses* and his Ministrie: Secondly, by the Prophets, and the deliverance of *Israel* out of *Babylon*: Thirdly, by the Gospel, and the Ministrie of Christ and the Apostles. Fourthly, by the Prophetical

Prophetical Scriptures, to be fulfilled since Christ and the Apostles : and do find that neither of all these are your foundation ; because you have not kept to them, nor made them your rule : Before we give a final judgement, I shall shew you the thing it self, that you have professed and pretended to ; that *Zion*, and that *Jerusalem*, which hath been so much talked of : I will a little unveil her to you, as she is with me, and stands before me, and at this time going out of *Babylon*.

1. She is an holy Nation, City or Kingdom : Holy and righteous, not by gifts, notion, purpose and prophecyng ; but by nature, and in the matter and substance of her being : being one with the Lamb, and so in her nature patient, innocent, meek : She is from heaven ; *Jerusalem* that is from above, comes from God out of heaven, and is of the same nature with him ; and therefore hath his *name written upon her* ; which she could not justly wear, if she have not his nature likewise.

2. She is an holy City or Nation, built and formed according to the eternal Law or mind of God, in most excellent union, beauty and order : and not a confused heap of prophane and filthy matter : She hath
both

both Magistracy and Ministry in equal and proportionable parts, all in order : She is built both according to the Law and Gospel, and hath the beauty of both, and *sings the song of Moses and the Lamb*, in excellent harmony.

3. In this state, she is joyned to the Lord, her head, in immediate conjunction and union : And the *Lamb* is with her, dwells in her : she is the *Mountain of God*, or the *City of the living God*.

4. She is washed, cleansed, enlightened, and filled with the Spirit of the Lord, whereby she is established, strengthened, guided and kept, in even and straight pathes ; she is adorned and beautified with righteousness, wisdom, peace, honour and salvation ; and therefore when she appears, she will be a *praise in the earth*.

5. She is in all things ordered and ruled, by the pure and perfect Law and Word of God, whereby she walks readily, surely, justly, to God, to men, and to all creatures.

These things, in word and notion, are not strange to you : That *Zion* is a Body, a Nation, a holy People, united and compact according to the heavenly pattern, joyned unto God, sanctified, established and adorned

ed by the Spirit, ruled by the eternal Word.

Then consider and compare your state with this *Zion*: where is this body, this holy matter? or when was this body formed? was it in the Parliament? at what time? though you sifted and purged it, yet it was mixed, unclean and corrupt, and afterward rejected as chaff. Or was the Army this holy body, with all that vile and filthy rabble? If this was the body, how came it to be such an offence to you? why did it at last cast you off, and betray you and your cause? Or is it all the godly people? why then are you not drawn out, united, built into a holy Nation, or City by your selves? *Zion* and no Union, Consistencie or Order? No Magistrates nor publick Ministers? Can you say when, in which of the *ten powers*, that you set up in twelve years, you were formed by the Spirit, or Word of God? which state, Oath, Protestation, Covenant or Engagement was made by the Word of God? If all, then you were led into contradictions; if any one, why did not that one judge and condemn all the rest? and why doth it not still stand and defend it self and you? It grieves my soul to think, that you should be so drunk with the wine of your own gifts and success, as to need such sensible

sible demonstrations, to convince you, of the evil of your state.

We have briefly shewed you the beauty of Zion : I can give you a view of your own state ; possibly you have not observed it, as I have done : now you have time and opportunity to think seriously of it : It is this.

You are a confused heap, raised from the earth, by the tumults and commotions of the people, being impatient of suffering, and full of consultations for self-ease, self-safety and advantage ; actuated and stirred by the Providence of God, who can make use of all creatures, natures, and dispositions : And sanctified by, and furnished with a spirit and gifts, fit to execute his displeasure upon the Nation for their sins : Finding success beyond your expectations, you grew into high opinions and conceits of your selves ; overthrew the Government of the Nation ; break all Oathes and Bonds ; prey upon the wealth of the Nation ; enrich and exalt your selves, under a name and profession of Godliness ; for which you are rejected into misery and shame.

I do feel what effect this may have upon your minds ; some will think it very hard and severe ; so think all children when they are

are beaten : Others will rage and gnash their teeth, yet it must be born : Others will say, this is true, but why should it be published to all the world ? I would avoid it, if it were possible : but it cannot be otherwise : how can one write to a people, but all may read that will ? But alas, I see it is most righteous and just, that you should bear shame ; for you have put the Lord to open shame ; and your iniquities and abominations are discovered, in the sight of all the Nations : they cannot be hid ; and publick sins must have publick shame, publick confession and repentance, *Eze. 16. 52.* *Thou that hast judged thy sisters, Samaria and Sodom, bear thy own shame for thy sins, that thou hast committed, more abominable then they : they are more righteous then thou ; yea be thou confounded also, and bear thy shame, in that thou hast justified thy sisters :* And know for certain, that till you are ashamed and confounded for your abominations, you never can, never shall, know a better state : But when you see God pacified towards you, it will make you to remember, to be confounded, and never more to open thy mouth ; And then will he lead you into a better state.

Therefore know this, I do not charge all this upon some eminent persons of the Party,

as

as some do ; nor upon the persons of the whole Party ; as most do : My soul pitties you ; I know you have a sore and grievous burden upon you ; and your personal sins are punished with personal judgements : I do both pity and forgive you, and if I could prevent it, I would : It was the intent of the other Book, and is the intent of this, to take you off from your state, and spirit of opposition to the power of the Nation, from which you have, do, and will suffer, so long as you persist in it.

The judgement I pass, is upon the state in which you stand, and the spirit by which you are acted : *This state which I have discoursed to you, it is not Zion, but Babylon ; Her filthiness is discovered, in the sight of all the world, and can no longer be hid : In one hour is her judgement come : Great is the Lord that judgeth her : Righteous and true are his judgements, and they are made manifest : God hath openly shewed, what was in you ; it is seen, known, and felt, that it is Babel, confusion : Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth : and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth, Gen. 11. 9.* Shall I need to apply it to you ? Do you not remember,

member, how much your *language was confounded*? And do you not now feel, how much you are *scattered*? Doth it need to be said, *This is Babel*?

As to your persons, gifts and graces, I do admit them to be the Lords, and so belong to *Zion*: But it is *Zion that dwells with the daughter of Babylon*: Therefore I do write this, to call you forth of *Babylon*: *Come out of her my people, and be not partakers of her sins, that ye receive not of her plagues*: Sword, war, blood, killing, persecuting, wrath, cursing and destroying are her sins, and must be her plagues: Neither you, nor any men, can *live* in them; but they will *perish* by them: No man, or men, can *not* in them, but they must *suffer* them: It is the righteous judgement of God against the *beast*, and for the *Lamb*: *he that takes the sword, shall perish by the sword*; and the meek suffering *Lamb* only shall reign: If you had again, or could recover, all the power and force you had, and an hundred times more, you could hold it but *one hour with the beast*: And in *one hour* would you be made as desolate as you have been: You neither could, nor can resist it: For *strong is the Lord that judgeth*: For he that hath sworn, he will bring down them that exalt themselves, be they never so mighty:

mighty: and raise up the lowly, the meek, the *Lamb*, who only trusteth in him, and shall be saved by him.

If you could not resist this Judgement, when you were great and strong, why should you not be wise now, and cease from that state, and those wayes which lead you upon sensible ruine? For what more certain destruction can there be, then for a naked people to dash themselves against a rock of power and authority, that is rooted and grounded in the Laws and minds of the Nation, and now after proof and trial, rises up strongly against all its enemies?

You are as to your persons, part of the *Israel* of God, I do most freely grant it to you. But as yet, but *Israel after the flesh*, and no more: And God hath used you, and the fire of your fleshly Zeal, (*Rev. 17. 16, 17.*) *to hate the whore, make her desolate, and naked, and to eat her flesh*; The war hath been of fleshly knowledge, fleshly forms, and fleshly wisdom, by fleshly power, policy and arms, against outward and fleshly corruptions: which God hath put into your hearts, until the words of God should be fulfilled: And during this Ministry, you pleaded the cause of *Zion*, and had the name, title, and success for that work: But those words are fulfilled:

And

And then there appeared in this *fleshy Israel* and *fleshy work*, a *spiritual Antichrist*; which your own mouthes have acknowledged: and a *spiritual Sodom*; *Egypt* and *Babylon*; which your works have manifested. *Sodom's* pride, idleness, and fulness of bread: *Egypt's* falshood, cunning and cruelty: *Babylons* loftiness, glorying, and self-exaltation: *Where our Lord also was crucified*: As well as the *flesh of the whore desolated*.

It is this *spiritual Antichrist*, this adulterated wine, or *wine of fornication*, in and with your *fleshy gifts*, and *fleshy success*, that bewitches your minds, abuses your understandings, and enrages your spirits, into a foolish confidence; and presumptuous opposition to the power of the Nation, to your apparent ruine: My endeavour is to redeem your understandings, from those vain and *rejected confidences*, and to recover your minds and reasons into a sober consideration of your selves, and of your condition: that you may not desperately throw away your lives and liberties, in a heady, drunken and rash zeal.

Friends, I do earnestly desire you seriously to consider; if you can, or if your high conceits of your selves, your principles and cause, will admit of reason and consideration.

on : Then consider , what is there in your present state, which now lies under so great conviction in your consciences, and so great condemnation from men : that should make you disdain, either a reproof, or a proposal, of trying your principles at a bar of Religion and Reason , before the wisest, justest, largest, and soberest men, in the Church and Nation : For that was the intent of that Book , that you so fiercely and bitterly condemn : It was humbly desired, that the persons to be tried , together with their principles, might not be judged, at least not finally, by the Common Law, but might have a Chancery : And why should you not now be reconciled to it, and seek it ? what should hinder you from petitioning it, as a singular mercy ? To the utmost of my understanding, it might be, not only a means of saving your selves, but a blessing to the Nation : I am very confident that you , and all men, after you have wearied and spent your selves, your peace and comfort , in these unnatural and brutish violences, will be glad to hearken to a brotherly and friendly debate of things : When that pride, that makes men scorn all mens Reason and Religion, but their own, is brought down : For he that knows any thing of the general and large love of
 God,

God, and of Jesus to all men, must conclude;
that that pride, will as certainly be ruined and
ruine it self, as he knows God is just or mer-
cifoll.

S A C T. I X.

I Intended not to prosecute this point of
accommodating the present distance and
opposition that is betwixt you, and this
Government of the Church and Nation;
But being unexpectedly saln upon it, and
engaged in it; and it being the end of my
first Book, and the constant frame of my
mind, to seek peace by a right understanding:
And there being still great need of it, in re-
spect of the great numbers that do suffer, and
possibly a better opportunity for it, satisfac-
tion being taken, to the Law of the Land, &
justice of the Nation, upon them that have
suffered: The same love to you, that led me
at first to propound it, continues still in me,
and leads me now to prosecute it.

The enmity is strong and great, confirmed
by a long and cruel war, heightened and
inflamed by many wrongs and injuries: It is
a fire that hath and doth burn fiercely in the
minds of men: It is now upon you, if it be

not quenched, it doth and will utterly destroy you, and all that cannot yield to the present Government of the Church, except a new war relieve you: And both you, and the whole Nation, have found by woful experience, that war is no friend, but an enemy to all Civil and Religious blessings: And that fighting may destroy both the good and the evil without Judgement, but save nothing: I hope it is and will be the mind of all sober Christians, and Englishmen, that consider the effects of our late wars, rather to suffer in their own particulars, then to raise a new war, whereby the whole Nation must suffer, thousands be slain; and at last they that raised it, will be far worse then they were when they begun: That Law and Sentence that came out of Christs lips first, and was afterward confirmed by the Spirit, in the *Revelations*, as a divine Law to all ages, is; *He that taketh up the sword, shall perish by the sword*: And therefore wo be to that Party or Person, that makes war and division his hope: that longs to see the Kingdom in a flame, that he may warm himself at the fire: Or would have the whole ruined and Shipwrecked, that he might have a share of the pilage.

You

You have had the sword, and could not keep it, it is turned now against you, and the strength of the Nation also, all highly provoked by your evil dealings with them : And yet you are the sharpest enemies to the Propositions of Peace : I know no good reason, why you should be so : A good friend of yours and mine, hath said again and again, *One side must yield* ; why should not we first lie down and submit ? We that profess most knowledge of the Gospel, and are most conversant with Scriptures, should be most inclined to meekness and peace ; there is sure some notable evil spirit gotten in, that makes the most gifted, the most quarrelsome.

I am bound to examine what it is, that upholds this state and spirit of opposition in your minds : In order to peace, I must pursue this enemy ; and if I can beat him out of all his holds, therefore bear with me ; it is the enemy I pursue, not you : if he have gotten possession of your minds, gifts, and cause, he will destroy you and them : For I constantly find, that *he is worse to the subject, than the object* ; he doth more mischief much, to him in whom he lives, than to him whom he kills : And he that acts wrath, must needs be worse than he that suffers it : For he that

acts it, is the servant and subject of that enemy, or enmity, but the patient, by suffering from it, is removed from it, into the contrary state, the Lamb; therefore enmity, when it gets into an active, knowing, zealous people, it is dangerously seated: If it be by war, success, and advantage, gotten into your hearts, affections and spirits; though I do some violence to all these, to remove him: if I be not judged a friend, I am sure I am so. For none but a friend, will pursue enmity it self, and my war is with enmity it self, and my endeavour is to destroy it.

Let us therefore consider, what it is that engages your minds so stiffly, in an opposition to, and hatred of the present authority of the Nation. It is some Spiritual and Religious thing, that commands your consciences, and over-rules your judgements, to that which to sense and reason, is so full of danger: It hath the place and power of a God in you, and requires this of you, under the notion of godliness, and as a service to him, and his cause: You being so engaged, it must needs be a high provocation to you, for a man to question your God, Religion and Principles: I need not wonder, if you be enraged at me: You were dull souls, if you did not come forth against me, with all the

the

the might and power of your Zeal and Religion; to condemn me for blaspheming your Cause. Indeed I do not blame you for being angry at me; I rather blame you, that you do like women, fret and scold, but do not bring forth your reason against me: If there be any courage or strength in you, I shall do what I can to engage it: It may be a mercy to you, to draw you off from a fleshly and worldly contest with the Nation, which will ruine you: to a spiritual and friendly strife about Gods, Principles, and Religions: In which war, we shall draw no blood; waste no treasure; destroy no families; nothing will be hurt, that is right and good; nothing be lost, but the chaff and dunt: With *this fire and sword of Spirit and Word*, will God plead with all flesh: This is truly and only the war of God, for the cause of God: And the weapons of this warfare are not carnal but spiritual; mighty, to pull down the strongest holds of the enemy: With this *fire and sword of the Word and Spirit*, God pleads with all flesh, with all Parties, with all opinions; Episcopal, Presbyterian, Independants, Anabaptists: A fleshly war, by fleshly means, in a fleshly spirit of pride, envy, impatience, self-seeking, &c. may destroy men, but encreases division, multiplies

corruption, provokes sin in the subdued, swells it in the conqueror, fills all with misery. But this war is, of *one God, one life, one peace, one salvation*: against *all men* in their fleshly opposing one another, and proud exalting themselves one over another, and destroys no men nor sort of men, but the evil and enmity of all, it *destroys only him, that destroys the earth*: The standard that I do advance in this war is love, the royal Law of love: love to man, to mankind, to all men, to humane nature: love to sinners, to enemies, to the worst of sinners.

You are religiously and conscientiously engaged to oppose, pray against, curse and destroy the present Magistracy and Ministry of the Nation, because it is corrupt and sinfull, both persons and things: This was your cause and spirit; and still is, except you repent and desert the principles in which you have been acted. Against this spirit and religion do I advance this standard: it was asserted in my former Book, but not raised high enough to be publicly observed or dealt with: It is more fully this:

Since God hath revealed his good will to mankind, and his large mercy, to all men, to sinners and enemies; not only to the godly, but to the ungodly and unrighteous, and made his

own example, a Law and Rule, in his house, to all his children: He that hateth his brother, is in darkness: knows not, lives not in the true light of Christ; is not of Gods mind: If he saith, he is in the light, and pretends to religion, and the way of God, he is a liar, and is in darkness until now, and knoweth not whither he goeth: 1 John 2. 9, 11. I know this is exceeding strange, and contrary to the whole frame of religion, wherein you have been exercised these many years: For of late, all religion and light hath only served to hate and destroy: and in this kind of religion the further and higher men go, the more they hate, and with more cruel hatred: first hate the evil Council, then the King, then the Lords, then the Commons: First hate the Bishops, then the Ministers, then the Presbyterian equal to the Episcopal, then the Independant and Anabaptist Churches: then all Religion: and so one generation of hatred, hath begot another, worse and worse; but no salvation, no healing, no pardoning any: Sure this is very different from that large and universal good will, that is declared by Christ. This hatred is condemned here to darkness, to the Prince of darkness, who is the enemy, the wicked or malignant one:

one: For if *we walk in the light, as God is in the light, we have fellowship one with another: and the blood of Christ cleanseth from us all sin: He is in the light, and in him is no darkness at all: the darkness is no darkness to him, he doth not stumble, is not offended at it: he is pure and holy, and nothing can pollute and defile him: he shines in darkness, and the darkness comprehends him not: thanks him not, loves him not, yet he shines still.* And they that have fellowship with him, may be, and are, where he is, and see as he sees, do as he doth, and not be polluted or offended: he that is taught of God, *as God is, so is he in this world: he shines in darkness, and is not comprehended by it, nor subjected to it, nor offended at it: and therefore quarrels not with them that are in it: but pitties, pardons, and relieves them; yea though they are not only dark and ignorant, but malicious and spitefull against him, and would destroy him, yet he sets not himself against them: but on the contrary feeds, clothes, sustains their outward and inward man, their bodies and souls; And this he doth as an example, and pattern to his children; If you see God going before you, in restoring, delivering, forgiving; and instead of following his example, you be angry*

gry at it, fret and curse : and think that your wrath should lead him, and your prayer call forth his vengeance : This is not like the Gospel, nor like his Sons.

There is another principle, which I will set at the foot of this standard : *Whoever hateth his brother is a murderer, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life in him,* John 3. 15. He that hateth his brother is a murderer : then he that murdereth his brother, hates him : why else doth he murder him ? He then that hates, and out of hatred endeavours the destroying or removing by death, them that he hates, is a *hateful murderer* : And then to prepare war is hatred and murder, by the Law of love. It is not just or good, because it is commonly done. It is not good, because it is done by many, but worse. If it be murder for one man to kill another, it is more murder for one party to kill another party : If it be done by a more religious party, upon a more prophane party, it is still worse : Wars for Religion are worse then for Civil rights : because by such wars, not only men suffer death, but the peace, purity, and love of Religion, which is the Law of Christ, is violated : Wars raised by a better people, upon a worse (if we be Christians) is still worse, then for a worse to raise

raise war upon the better. For according to the Law and example of Christ, *The strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please themselves, Rom. 15. 1. and the just to suffer for the unjust. It follows, no murderer hath eternal life in him :* For if any man have eternal life in him, he need not, he cannot, out of fear, that another will take away his life destroy him : Neither can he prey upon anothers life, to maintain his own : Nor can he take away the sinfull life of another, to secure his eternal life ; it is contrary to divine reason and goodness : But he that hath eternal life will be enabled to lay down his life for others ; because he knows his life is eternal, and cannot be lost : This is according to our pattern, ver. 16. *Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us, and we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren :* By this we perceive that his love was the love of God, that he could lay down his life for us ; and that his life was the life of God, that it could lay down it self for us : And *we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren :* If this be truly and only, the nature of the love and life of God, and a rule to us : Then, that only is true godliness that answers to this pattern :

And

And what is contrary to it, is of *the wicked one*.

You cannot, you must not think to slight and scorn the authority and Majesty of this standard: if ever you be saved, you must come to it; if you be saved by it, you must also be judged and ruled by it: I am able to say it doth save, and shall judge and rule you and all men: and therefore by this, I must and will try and measure your present state and cause.

You profess, in this state of opposition and enmity wherein you have been and are still engaged, the *cause of God and godliness*. Is there a *cause of God*, that differs from himself, from his life and love? or another *godliness*, then that which is born of him, and conformed to him? Doth he lay down his life for us that are sinners, and enemies; and give the same life to us, which he laid down for us, that we might be like him? and shall we, because we are his children, destroy others that are not so?

If this be light, and a rule, then your enmity in which you stand, is darkness, and you are lead into it by a false God, by an evil spirit, and by a crooked rule.

SECT.

SECT. X.

ALL enmity is betwixt two parties; this enmity being in darkness, there is a false judgement of both: He that hates is ignorant of himself, and of him or them that he hates; in both respects the darkness of malice *blinds his eyes, and he knows not whither he goes*: In your present enmity, you are guilty of both: mistaken and deceived; 1. In your selves: And 2. In your enemies; If there be these two errors, there must be a third also; ignorance of the way that you are in, in prosecuting these enemies: You think you are engaged in the cause of God, and that you move in the way of God, against the enemies of God. But you will find that you are blinded by the enemies in all three; and that you are not what you think you are: nor are your enemies, that which your hatred suggests they are; nor is the way of opposing and destroying, what your enmity imagines it is: In all, *your eyes are blinded, and you know not whither you go*: It will be a mercy to you, if God please, to open your eyes, and to turn you from this way of wrath, into the way of peace, we shall endeavour it.

First,

First, for your selves, you take it for granted, 1. That the cause in which you stand is the cause of God: 2. You conclude that that religion and holiness in which you live, is the only godliness and Christianity: I doubt you are deceived in both.

For the first of these, the cause, it is cryed up among you, as the Jews cried up, *the Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*: I fear your cry hath less ground then theirs: However while the sound of it lives in your Spirits, it is no wonder if it over-powers you: For there is certainly nothing more high and honourable, then to be engaged in *the cause of God*: to be his friends, and champions, and to be imployed in recovering of a Kingdom for Christ, and setting him upon the throne: All that are called to this work may well be zealous in it, and freely adventure their lives for it, knowing they shall have a great reward for it: and whatever their lives or sins are, they shall at least go to heaven, if they dye in the quarrel; the service is enough to answer for all.

Besides what we have said in the seventh and eighth Section: That this cause, as you have managed it, agrees to no rule or example of Scripture: Not to the way or work of God, in delivering *Israel* out of *Egypt*;

nor

nor to that of bringing them out of *Babylon*, much less to the way of the Gospel in *Christ* and the *Apostles*, nor to the propheticall Scriptures : nor to the thing it self which you profess, as we have I think convincingly shewed : And besides that standard of *the love and life of God*, set up in the last Section : all which you must either overthrow, or subject to : I shall now desire you more particularly, and closely to consider,

First, Whether this cry of *the cause*, be not only a great sound, or more sound then substance; Empty vessels give the greatest sound: Most noise, least truth and substance, is very common : Or things when they go off, make the greatest report : This I have observed of this cause : it floats like Wine in mens heads, fills mens Prayers and Sermons, flies about in Books and Discourses, and so raises a smoak of talk, zeal, and affection. But in all this time : First, It never attained, or gathered a body, into any consistency, but mens minds are still blown about like dust : one people talk this, and another that ; but there never was any consent or agreement about it : 2. As it never could gain a body, so it never had any form, it was never yet stated by any man, or by any company of men : only confused thoughts and
talks

talks there are about it. Thirdly, it never yet attained any power in the Nation: it never was owned as the cause of God by either Parliament or Army: Men in their private prayers and Sermons, talk of the Kingdom of God, of the fall of *Babylon*, and building *Zion*; but those powers owned nothing but necessity, safety, interest of the people, and such like things: And therefore you may well think what a bottom it is, that you adventure your selves in; or rather, how bottomless it is: Many words, many affections, many duties, multitudes of sacrifices, many Scriptures quoted, preached on: But what power and substance is there in these? What heavenly glory is there in them or among you, that is able to convince your enemies? Or what earthly strength is there in them, that can defend and support a poor naked people, against a strong and mighty Prince, against a standing Law and Authority? My reason, experience, and knowledge tells me, that as you are, so you will be left in confusion, in any engagement, for such a cause, that hath no more solid body, state or power in it.

And therefore be perswaded to retire, from the noise that you make in each others ears and affections; and enquire within in
 K your

your own reasons and memories : And remember if you can, where had you this Cause? from whence came it? where and when was it born? in what year of these late changes? in which of them was it brought forth? Or from what *Scripture* do you derive it? is there such a thing spoken or named there, as *the Cause of God*? God pleads *the Cause of his people*, by outward Judgements; and by his Spirit *the Advocate*; and by Christ their *Counsellor*: But *his Cause* is not now at the Bar; no, he hath set Christ upon the throne, and he is exalted *far above all principalities and powers*: He is now actually judging and ruling the world: he *pulleth down and setteth up* whom he will: You may see his power and authority, he judges you, for your unrighteousness, and sets up your enemies above you: What is it that thus blinds your eyes, that you should contend, for that which is already done, for Christ's Kingdom? doth not the enemy abuse your understandings? and perswade you, it is the Cause of God, and his Kingdom, when indeed it is your own honour, dominion and greatness?

But hath there not been a cause of God in this Nation? Yes there hath been that which we may call so: and it was this, The Church

Church and Kingdom of *England*, stood in a very dark, fleshly and corrupt state; and the Governors of it were also corrupt, and had sinned against God: For which God had a *Controversie*, both with their persons and standing: And therefore sanctified you, with a *fleshly holiness*, against their *fleshly corruption*, and called you forth for the executing of his judgement upon them: And therein you were justified, being engaged (to speak in your language) in the cause of God; or being employed to administer that judgement which he had given in the cause: Thus much I can grant to you, and it will be found the right of the case.

But if the Judgement decreed be executed, and the measure of outward punishment be fulfilled, then your *cause* ceases: If this kind of wrath, by war, blood, and spoil be finished; why should not you be content to be discharged from this employment?

First, it is a mean service to be the Executioners of an outward destruction: It is, *O Assyrian, the rod of my anger, and the staff in their hand is my indignation: I will send him against an hypocritical Nation, and against the people of my wrath will I give him charge, to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to*

tread down like the mire of the streets, Isa.
10. 5, 6.

Secondly, as it is a vile service, so it hath been vilely polluted : It is a filthy thing to destroy, and the filthiness of it is manifested : It is *Babylonian*, and the *confusion* is sufficiently discovered : The brightness and cleanness of it, and all the honour, and glory of it was, the wrath and justice of God : when that was finished, then it presently shewed its vile nature : covetousness, self-seeking, pride and cruelty : Nothing but ignorance, or a love of the prey and spoil, can make men to doat upon it, and desire to continue in it.

Thirdly, being it self unclean, it cannot purifie nor reform the Nation : It reaches but to the out-side, to the outward life, honour and greatness : It never touches the spirit, and therefore may waste and spoil, and so restrain, for a time, the fleshly part ; but the nature and spirit of the thing still remains, yea confirmed and strengthened : It may tread down in the mire, but its unclean feet of wrath and passion, pollute more then purge, and so make worse.

Fourthly, to purifie, is left to the fire of of his own Spirit, which will thorowly purge, with the spirit of judgement and burning :

burning : You administred 1. without judgement, you could not discern between the gold and the dross. And 2. without burning, for if the dross be not separated from the gold, it cannot be consumed : as yet we have had neither separation nor burning : for want of both these, their dross still remains, after all the wrath administred : But doubt not, the holy *purpose* and *power* of God : He will certainly purge both you and them : by *the breath of his mouth*, and *the brightness of his appearing* : This pure heavenly fire, is descended, is kindled, is set as a *refiners fire* ; and no iniquity shall escape the flame of it : For it is holy, mighty, effectual and eternal ; it doth, and will burn for ever : You have heard the sound of it in your spirits ; ye are in the smoak of it, and so is the whole Nation, which is the reason of the present blackness, darkness and confusion : But when the evil is brought forth and discovered, he will certainly destroy it : yea it is actually destroying, and in destruction ; in being brought forth.

Fifthly, That outward wrath which you administred, you could not but execute it : you could not cease from it, till it was finished ; but you have since turned from that

cause, and made another : which is planting your selves , in the place of them that you thrust out ; exalting your selves and Ministry upon their ruines. Pray observe, First, That the great things now boasted, of the Kingdom of Christ, and reign of the Saints : which are indeed eternal truths and sure things , but the application of them to your persons, gifts and Ministry ; and apprehending of them to your selves in your late work ; are things that are sprung up since the beginning of the wars ; and are the children or idols of the success you have had in the wars ; these notions were not known at first : the war was betwixt King and Parliament : opportunity, advantage, and success, made you bold to assume these titles. Secondly, you could not claim this title to the Kingdom of Saints, till *Babylon* was destroyed : In assuming of it, your own works declare that ministry of wrath, to be finished, you did believe, profess, praise and practice accordingly : And therefore you cannot return to it again , without contradicting your own judgements and opinions, yea those very judgements and opinions in which your strength lies. Observe it well, The present Governors and Government of Church and Kingdom, are say you

Babylon,

Babylon, and the enemies of God and his people : You therefore did execute the wrath of God upon them to destroy them : Was that justice or wrath perfect, full and compleat or no ? If it was, it is finished, and you have no more to do of that kind : you certainly thought it so, perfect, and sufficient, and so believed, praised, and lived.

Babylon being destroyed, *Zion* comes forth : you own your selves to be *Israel*, Gods people, and that the Kingdom is the Saints : which you could not do, till *Babylon* was destroyed : for *Israel* cannot come forth, nor have her liberty till then : This ground you now stand upon, not upon the *Parliament*, as at first, but as *Zion* and Gods people : and this title stands only upon the ruines of *Babylon* : Therefore either you must hold to this, that you are *Zion*, and then *Babylon* is destroyed ; and then you are not to engage again in a war against her : Or else if you think *Babylon* yet stands and is not destroyed, you must relinquish your confidence and title of the Kingdom of Saints, and go back again, to begin a new heathenish work and war : But you have been the *anabaptist* *Christ* hath bowed, and she saw that he hath shaken, and as foolish proud man uses to do, you have boasted

and *magnified* your selves and ministry (into the place of Christ, and so) *against him* that beweth therewith : and for that you suffer so great shame and rebuke.

I have endeavoured to let you see, that, that which is the most of the cause of God, that ever you had, which is the execution of his justice, is now finished and ceased : And that in love both to your souls, lives, liberties and families ; that I might withdraw you from this way of enmity and opposition in which you stand, and in which you will suffer, if you do not retreat.

The true ground of our war ceasing, which is the administration of, an outward punishment ; the *cause of God*, as to that point ceaseth : And therefore you are deceived in your cause, passion having blinded your eyes.

The second thing that strengthens you in your enmity, is your holiness, religion and godliness : This must be tryed, whether you be not deceived in it also.

It consists much in Religious duties, performed by gifts, as praying, speaking, prophesying, and an outward conformity to the Gospel : For the power and Spirit of Christ, and the Apostles, is not manifested in you, by any signs or fruits ; or not more in
you,

you, then in others : There is nothing singular produced, but what is common to others, only your manner of speaking, praying, worshipping : which is affirmed to be, 1. nearer to the rule, and 2. of more power than others : And that the worship of your enemies, is superstition and humane invention, and hath no life in it.

It is most certain, that this kind of Religion and Holiness, is not with God what you esteem it : You do highly, yea too highly value it : But it doth not, it cannot stand in the presence of God ; not in his own immediate presence : but is of a worldly nature, and stands only in the world : It is not the worship, that is in the Temple of God, before the throne of God, and of the Lamb ; I hope you will confess it : For you know there is no such contention, war, blood, cursing, nor such mixtures of uncleanness, can or dares come before him : And therefore though it stood awhile as a Ministry, yet it is slain, and that before him : For what cannot stand before him, falls before him : The reason of his dislike of it is,

First, It is not of a right kind : It is not a new nature ; not a nature, but a gift ; not a divine nature, but a humane thing ; not from heaven and in heaven, but in the earth and from the earth.

Second-

Secondly, Because it is not a nature, it is not deep, solid and lasting; it washes the outside of the platter; makes new words, gestures, expressions; but your confessions say, the heart is still a most vile and filthy thing, and that your natures are still corrupt: If the heart be unclean, Religion is but a shadow, and cannot please him who is truth and substance: He requires, a good man, that hath a good treasure, in a good heart; and a good tree, of a right kind, that brings forth good fruit; not briers and thorns of contention and violence.

Thirdly, Being not from heaven, it corrupts and decays; it is not an *incorruptible* life: Actually it hath foully corrupted, into the grossest pollutions, that any people did ever commit. Into gross covetousness, ambition, and self-seeking: into absurd and palpable errors, lies and delusions: And into that most, which is the worst, enmity, cruelty and persecution; and that generally and universally, of all, both friends and foes, and in all, in the highest most: And therefore observe it, with a special observation.

First, That the several parties, Presbyterian, Independant, Anabaptists and fifth Monarchy-men: have all one life of holiness,

ness, one peace, one righteousness, one hope, one heaven : Of each sort, some died in the late execution ; and they all breathed out their souls in one and the same faith and hope.

Secondly, Yet these had been, not many Moneths before, mortal enemies one to another : and attempted war one against another : some of them were for the Rump, against the Army ; and some of them, for the Army, against the Rump : and the fifth Monarchy-men would gladly have fought them both, and have offered at it : and yet they appeared at last Brethren : And if they were restrained from fighting and drawing blood, yet their prayers, faith and religion, were set against one another : which hath been the constant practise of all these Parties ; they have discharged bitter curses and judgments against each other : which is the greatest corruption, even to a dissolution.

Thirdly, And therefore if men allow of enmity against any sort of men, because they are against them, and their wayes ; they will exercise the same to all that oppose their way : He that will kill a Cavaleer, because he is not godly, will likewise kill a Presbyterian, Independant, Anabaptist, or any other, if he cross his way and notion ; be he never
so

So near to him, in the kind of his life : And he that will kill an Episcopal person , or party, for his own safety, or for *the Cause of God* ; will for the *same Cause* kill his Brother, Independant or Anabaptist.

Fourthly , This kind of corruption of a body or society of people, into deadly hatred, and exercise of their spirits and gifts against each other , is the worst kind of corruption that can be of Holiness or Religion : Because 1. it is against love , which is the supream Law. 2. It tends to a dissolution : For a Kingdom divided against it self cannot stand ; it not a Civil, then much less a Religious Kingdom. 3. Where this sin is, all others are also : *For where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and every evil work, Jam. 3. 16. Therefore if you have bitter envying and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth : This wisdom descendeth not from above ; but is earthly, sensual and devilish, ver. 14, 15. The wisdom that is from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good fruits, without partiality, and without hypocrisie, ver. 17.*

From all which we must conclude, that the Religion and Holiness in which you glory , and upon which you stand , *is earthly and sensual ;*

sensual; It began in strife and self-seeking; and its end is devilish: It is corrupted and faln: As great and greater things then these, have corrupted, the Scripture witnesseth it: I testifie it, upon experimental knowledge: and your works manifest this of yours to be faln: If you *glory* in this, and think there is not a better, *you lie against the truth*, as the Apostle saith: I know there is a more excellent, heavenly and perfect state, which now judges this of yours, and you will know it also, when you are ashamed of this.

SECT. XI.

LET me mind you what we are upon. *He that hateth his Brother, is in darkness, walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth, because darkness hath blinded his eyes*: I am proving that the darkness of hatred hath blinded your eyes, that you know not, 1. What you are: 2. What your enemies are: 3. What the way is you are going, or whither you go: You are blinded, as to your selves, and in a mist of strife and confusion have lost, 1. your Cause, 2. your Religion: you retain the form or carcass of both,

both, but have lost the justice of one, and the life of the other : I shall now shew you how you are blinded concerning your enemies ; that you do not, cannot understand them, in the present state in which you stand.

I will not urge upon you my apprehensions of them, which I have declared in my Book : They are there published, and let them abide the tryal : I meet with nothing yet, that is of sufficient authority to make me retract them : You wonder and are offended at the good that I have written of the King, from those antient foundations of rest and grace, in Gods sight, laid in Noah : My authority for it I tell you, pag. 65. in these words, *My love is my first and chief guide, in this application to your Majestie. I believe it will uphold and justify me, against that weakness or strangeness, which either is in it, or may seem to others to be in it : For I do in my soul, give unto love, the most absolute authority, as the most supreme royal Law in heaven and in earth ; the most certain and infallible rule : For that only is without error, that is able to cover the errors, and supply the defects of all things else. I only advance it as a standard, let it stand naked by it self : I do it to invite you to deal with it : Both*
reason

reason and sense are against it : Overthrow it if you can ; I do desire it may be thoroughly tryed : because I know it is a stranger in the world : You have other thoughts of this application, that it comes from the vile and base principle of flattery : I profess the most honourable principle of love ; if you have any strength of truth and righteousness in you, suffer not so gross an evil as this to pass uncorrected.

My business with you, is to slay that enmity that is in you, to the present power, and to take you off from that dangerous opposition in which you are engaged : that so you may come to *live a quiet and sober life under it* : And to let you see how *hated hath blinded your eyes*;

No man that hates ought to judge ; while he hates he cannot judge : All passions darken the judgement ; above all hatred, which is a foul, black, devilish thing ; it is of *the wicked one* : whom God hath cast down from all authority of rule and judgement : And made him a slave, a vile Executioner of his wrath : I pleaded this in my Book, in the behalf of them that since have suffered, *pag. 152.* and now plead it with you : And shall I hope never cease to plead it with God, and with men : and with God

in man, till this base spirit of malice, be cast out of all power, both Civil and Religious : For I know that hatred, though it seem to judge, and to be very forward in judging, yet it hath neither true right, nor light to judge any : Only it is a servant to the justice of God : It is true, God hath given this beast a kingdom, greatness and power, but it is only in wrath and destruction : Foolish man is deceived miserably by him, poor dust, if he can get up into any kind of power ; though it be only to plague and destroy, yet he thinks it a great attainment : if he hath so much knowledge, religion or power, as to inflict punishment, he fancies himself a god : because he administers divine displeasure : But if ever you come to so much light of God, as to know what you do, you will abhor your selves for that, which you now glory in.

If you will shew your selves men, and but exercise your reason, you will quickly see, that you cannot judge of your enemies that you hate, and therefore that they are not what you judge them to be, while you judge in hatred.

First, No man can judge, when he hates, or after he hates : For when men hate, they suppose, those they hate, are to be destroyed ;

ed : and therefore they are already judged and condemned : For hatred is the executing of one condemned, and that with the worst condemnation : unto the utmost and irrevocable ruine : Men think when they hate, there remains nothing to do, but to prosecute, to utter destruction ; to spoil, pull down, shame, disgrace and ruine them ; And it is impossible that they should judge, that are thus employed to execute : For to judge a person, or a thing, is to try the good and the evil ; all judgement supposes a right and a wrong ; and an indifferency to both, with an endeavour to find out both : Now consider how you are affected to your Adversaries, and you will find that you do absolutely hate them as persons and things to be cut off from the earth : As *the people of Gods wrath*, and of *his curse* : as enemies to Jesus Christ, doomed to destruction for ever : So that judgement is past, if this be your minds, and you have nothing to do but to seek their ruine.

As you see you cannot judge, till you cease to hate, so you may here see the nature and kind of hatred : When God hath judged a people to be scourged and spoiled for their sins, and given them up to *wrath* and the *curse* ; he hath instruments prepared for the

execution of them, some, fierce, self-seeking, hating persons; To these he discovers the Sentence, and represents the Party to be punished, as cloathed with his Curse; and then they fall on, with all their zeal and might, as glad of such employment: But poor wretches, they know not the counsel of God, nor the measure nor end of his displeasure: And therefore form up other conceits in their heads, as the King of Assyria did: *Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so, but it is in his heart to destroy and cut off Nations not a few, Isa. 10. 7.* Success in such employments are certain and constant; which the proud Executioner cannot bear, but his hatred is enlarged as hell, and presently thinks of destroying Nations not a few; glorying in the success, he is swelled with pride, and thinks to conquer all the world: This is only to shew you the true original and nature of hatred: it is rooted in the Curse of God, and in the Devil, the great minister of the Curse, who hath power of death: he sets man on to execute the Curse, and then inflames him into high thoughts of himself, for his work: What a mercy it will be for poor man to be redeemed from this vile service, and the absurd and woful errors, that do attend it.

To

To return to our purpose, while you hate, you cannot judge of them you hate: and the judgement you make is no judgement, or a false one. For,

Secondly, You did judge them *Babylon*, *Antichristian* enemies; and that therefore their judgement was *for ever and ever*: Such you know is the destruction of *Babylon*, as a *Mill-stone* cast into the *Sea*, as the Angel said, *Rev. 18. 21*, and be found no more at all: The voice of Harps and Musicians shall not be found in her, nor the light of a candle, nor the voice of the Bridegroom, &c. So you thought of these, that they would never recover more: And now you see the *Musick*, and the *Candles*, and the *Mirth* is risen again out of the *Sea*, and hath escaped the *mill-stone* and the drowning too: Now remember and consider: You judged them *Babylon*, and therefore to be destroyed *for ever*: but now you find it otherwise: your judgement therefore is false: Had they been what you imagined them, they had never rose: Or had you or your judgement been true, they had never recovered, nor you safe: if you erred as to the kind of the punishment, you erred also as to their state: I know you must think, that this recovery of theirs, is but in order to an utter and final

destruction : And the reason of it is, because if you do think it otherwise, you must condemn all your prayers, praises, and interpretations of Scriptures, that you have made for your selves and against them a long time : Therefore till you repent of them, you must believe your enemies must perish, be it never so irrational : For they cannot be justified, till your enemies do fall, they being grounded upon their ruine : But pray consider, this is a present shift, and but a shift : It will not cover your shame : It is far easier to confess ten errors, ten years errors, the errors of ten thousand persons, then to justify one error : Be you never so good, great, and many, you are but men ; you may err, you have erred and run out of one error into another, many years together : He against whom you have exclaimed, *delusion, delusion* ; is able to say to you now, You have been and are under *strong delusions* : I have thought it, and published it, and now it is proved to be so.

If ever it come to pass, as you expect, an utter and final destruction of your enemies ; it must be by a spirit, that is more holy, true, and righteous, then that, in which you have hitherto acted : And such a spirit you cannot have, till you repent of the former :

I shall help you what I can. An utter and final destruction will come, and now is begun upon all wicked and ungodly works; although it be not seen and felt: for all wicked works are in the wicked one, and he in the wrath of God: in which he and they shall lie for ever. All his works will be destroyed, in judgement, for this fire will destroy his works, and save the persons. But your spirit, or the spirit in which you acted, would destroy persons and things; but did encrease ungodliness; for both your selves, and enemies also, are not better, but worse by what you have administred.

Thirdly, I hope you will now confess, that you and your Party are worse then you thought you were: If you are worse then you judged, why should you not think that your enemies are better then you judged? If you are not such holy, blessed, heavenly Saints, as you thought you were, then by the Law of contraries, they are not such Devils, or brats of Antichrist, as you conceived them. If you are weak men, as it appears you are, then your judgement of them is like your selves, weak and fallible: And as you fall from your Mountain of exaltation, so must they rise, and stand upon even ground with you; and be like your selves, weak sinful men as

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you

you are : If you are not quite void of modesty and reason, you cannot but admit, that they have some good in them ; because there is so much evil in you that have opposed them : If there was so much folly, giddiness, and drunkenness in your opposition ; you cannot but think, that there is some good in these that you oppose : As I do admit that there was some good in you that did oppose, some evil in them : so you must admit, that evil in you, and that evil opposition that you made, must be against something good in them ; For evil where ever it is, it fights against good.

Indeed, if there were no good in them, and no evil in you ; you need not, you would not oppose them ; for that which is perfectly good, is above all opposition ; And that which is perfectly evil, is below it ; *That* lives in a heaven in it self ; *this* in hell and confusion ; *that* is salvation and rest in it self, *this* is destruction, and sinks under the weight of its own shame and guilt.

Most of you that have had any light or sense of things, have of late found a *spiritual Antichrist*, which is within. This conviction was but late upon you, and but weak, and therefore you have possibly now lost the sight of this enemy in you : But there he is,
and

and will be found out : This *spiritual Antichrist*, was in you from the beginning of your work, though he appeared but lately : And being in you, he did work with you, pray with you, fight with you, protest and covenant with you, was in all your zeal, judgings, fastings and engagements : You never had any thing pure or clean without him : If this be indeed *Antichrist*, as certainly he is, *the Antichrist* ; for *spiritual Antichrist*, is greater then *fleshy Antichrist* ; more dangerous, wicked and malicious : The nature of this *Antichrist* is to oppose *Christ* ; he doth it constantly, and cannot do otherwise : Then if he hath been in you, and acted in you, in your wars and works ; he hath opposed *Christ* in those wars and works : And then, there must be something of *Christ* ; in them that you oppose : I shall still help you what I can : This *spiritual Antichrist* hath opposed *Christ*. First in your own spirits ; and slain that Lamb, meekness, innocency, and love in you, and set up a proud, cruel, bloody spirit, in the worship of God, and in you his Temple. Secondly, this *spiritual Antichrist* made you fierce and cruel to your Brethren, that d'flered from you. And thirdly, it made you false, cruel and unmerciful to your ene-

mies; not admitting them to the common favour and mercy which God shews to all men.

My intent is, by levelling the lofty confidences of men, to bring them nearer together, and so to prepare them for peace and reconciliation: *All have sinned and come short of the glory of God: God hath concluded and shut up together, all men, in one pit of darkness and enmity, that he might have mercy upon all, that none may glory, or exalt themselves, one over another: None are righteous; nor saved, because they are righteous; nor shall any be destroyed because they are sinners: for therefore are all shut up, in one pit: that mercy may bring them all forth: If any be worse then others, it is they that have most knowledge, and sinned against greatest favour: And they may again receive most mercy, for where sin hath abounded, Grace shall much more abound: They that are first humbled, will first see and partake of this large, excellent and eternal salvation: Therefore my friends, be not stout against the Lord, but fall under his rebuke: Of pride comes contention: If you be truly humbled, you will cease to strive: You have been as Capernaum, exalted to heaven, in gifts, success, titles, names,*

expressions, and are now brought down to hell: not only to outward shame and loss, but to the filth, lies, pride and enmity of hell: Who can deny the most high this prerogative, to set up as high as heaven, in the brightness and glory of a Ministry, and bring down again to the blackness and foulness of hell? Shall foolish man think, that because God dresses him up, and calls him forth, to serve him, he cannot again reject that man and his service also? Or because he makes things honourable, at least in mans esteem, that he shall not again dishonour them? Hath not the Potter power over the Clay; to form it a vessel of honour, or dishonour? Hath he not power, to fashion it for a service, employ it in that service, and then break it in pieces, and make it new again?

He that knows not himself, knows nothing truly; for all wisdom begins at the knowledge of ourselves: we know nothing, till we know ourselves; And we know nothing fully, till we know it in ourselves. We know nothing rightly, till we our selves rightly measured, are the measure of others: It is apparent, you are mistaken in your selves and in your work, and therefore those unexpected corruptions of division, envy, covetousness and self seeking are broken forth and discovered:

After

After those corruptions, unexpected confusions : After those confusions, unexpected ruine and destruction is upon you : Therefore you have over-valued your selves : And they that over-value themselves, must necessarily undervalue their enemies : One cannot be without the other : Most men, their righteousness is of that nature ; they are good, because others are worse : Enemies can no longer think themselves good, then they think their enemies wicked : And therefore men are necessitated, when they become enemies to any, to aggravate their evils, all that they can ; to feed and satisfy their own anger at them : and not only to think them evil, but to rejoyce when their evil appears, either of sin or punishment ; which shews the vile nature of enmity, it engages a mans soul to mischief ; it makes men study it, long for it, thirst after it ; and if it comes not, his hatred stirs him and pricks him on, both to think it, to speak it, to pray for it, and to act it as much as he can.

Therefore consider your selves : you have read *Luke 16. 15. That which is highly esteemed amongst men, is an abomination in the sight of God* . You highly esteemed your work and state : It is become *abominable in the sight of men* ; in part, in your own sight ;

fight: It was first so in *God's fight*: For if he had not *abominated* it, it had not fallen into that vile state, in which it now lies under guilt, shame and loss.

Consider then, if that which is highly esteemed by men, may be abominable in the sight of God; may not that also which men have abominated, become highly esteemed of God? Yea, is it not alwayes so? What men reject, God chuses: The base things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea and things that are not that he might bring to naught things that are, 1 Cor. 2. 28. And for this reason, v. 29. that no flesh might glory in his presence: If one Party only should be accepted, as sometimes it is for a season; then doth that Party glory in his presence; as you did in the time of your exaltation: Now God rejects you, and chuses them whom you scorned; Yet they must not be happy alone; for God will have mercy upon all.

It were no dishonour to you, that forgiveness and reconciliation should begin in you: To prepare you for it, are you brought down from your confidence? You laid all the evil upon your adversaries, and now must be content to bear shame with them: You are not the only *Saints* and *Zion*; nor they

they the only *Antichrist* and *Babylon* : You have found an *Antichrist within* , and he is worse then one without : A *spiritual Antichrist* , is worse then a *fleshy Antichrist* : Their Religion is corrupt , and not pure : Hath not yours also been corrupted with the worst kind of corruption , malice and hypocrisie ? Theirs is clogged with outward pomp , worldly honour : Yours was so awhile . But theirs was given by blind superstitious people : And yours was taken by force of arms : But their Religion is not according to Scripture : nor is any form of Religion , now in the Nation : All build something of their own , and therefore they differ : None are exactly according to the pattern of the Apostles , neither in form nor power .

As all are sharers in the evil , so in the good also : You are not Angels of light ; nor they Devils ; you are all *men* ; Englishmen , weak and sinful men : You have *personal gifts* , but an *ill state* : They have personal defects , they have a better state ; an outward at least : They are upon the foundation of Law ; whether spiritually or no , is the question : It is not with you , it may be found among them : You have suffered , they have suffered : But they are not better
by

by sufferings : It is well this is an objection ; for by this there appears an expectation that they should mend : Nōr are you better by mercies : And mercies , are more Gospel and effectual means of Grace , then judgments : *Israel* was punished , and was worse by it , and yet not utterly rejected : You suffered for conscience , so did they : But their sufferings are not for a pure conscience ; neither are yours purely for conscience : Not only for *well-doing* ; there is a mixture in both yours and theirs.

There is great reason , why you should come to know one another , for one Party succeeds another , and is content to let the other be their rule and pattern.

You learned of your enemies , lordlings , gentility , wayes and forms of state , of greatness : They come after you , and learn your wayes , of finding plots , disturbing meetings , discountenancing , disgracing , imprisoning Adversaries : They are , and do now , where you were , and as you did , not long since : They ride upon you , as you rode upon them : They crush you , as you crushed them : You afflicted and vexed them , they do the same things to you : Must not the word of Christ be fulfilled ?
Mat. 7. 1, 2. Judge not , that you be not judged :

ed: For with what judgement you judge, you shall be judged: And with what measure you mete, it shall be measured to you again: This I declared to you, when you began this judging and oppressing way; that it would return upon you; you would not hear then; will you understand now? Then know this, and let all men learn by it. First you began this hardness in them against your selves: You reap what you sowed; spoyling, imprisonment, hatred, death. Secondly, God acts and rules in all mens spirits in these things, and that justly, and therefore be not wrathful against them, but submit to God in it: The Lord hath said Curse. Thirdly, And may we not say, (as Rom. 11. 28.) *They are enemies for your sakes, but as touching the election, they are beloved for the Fathers sake:* It is for your sakes that they are acted thus against you, to make you sensible of the work you have done: What a goodly thing it is to ride upon men; and to watch over them for evil! When you come to a right sense and repentance of that work and spirit, you yet glory in, then will that spirit cease to afflict you; because it is for your sakes: For God delighteth not in afflicting: If he doth send evil, it is for good: As it is the just fruit of your own doings; so certainly will repentance

repentance remove it : Be not therefore angry at the hand , but feel *the staff of Gods indignation in their hand* : And when you come to mourn over your selves , that you have been so acted , you will pity them that succeed you , in that kind of employment : For it must be found on all sides , to be but a sad service , to be a tormentor of others : And when you come to pity them , that they should be made *enemies for your sakes* ; that they should be made a rod , because you want chastening , and be that rod to you , that you were to them : You will then see , that *both you and they are beloved for the Fathers sake* ; neither for your own sakes : And may also see , that they have a good root , and will bring forth better fruit in its season : When we are fit to partake of it.

SECT.

S E C T. XII.

HAtred so blinds men, that they know not themselves, nor their enemies : It makes men worse then otherwayes they would be, and yet to think better of themselves then ever they were : It makes men think their enemies worse then they are, and it makes those enemies worse then they would be : And therefore the *third thing* follows, they that hate their Brethren, *darkness hath blinded their eyes, and they know not whither they go* : Enmity is of the Devil, and he is in darkness, *God hath withheld light from him*; he hath neither the light of Christ, nor of Angels, no nor of men : All his wayes, and all the wayes of men that are acted in his spirit, are most irrational and absurd things : All men, so far as they are led by malice, are hurried, and driven, by the wrath of God, blowing up their passions, unto unreasonable things, without any judgement or understanding.

Let us look back upon our wars : Did any of us know, when we begun, *whither we should go* ? or did we once dream or imagine the things we have since done ? and the
strange

strange paths we have trodden? Have we not been driven beyond all our purposes, Declarations and Vows, into crooked and contrary wayes; which our Reason and Religion did at first condemn; and will again, when we recover either the one or the other: Was there ever such a heap of inconsistencies and independencies? such a mass of confusion in Church and State? And if we were blinded then, we are so still, if we persist: For we are not better, but worse now, then at first; we have multiplied notions and opinions, but have decayed, both in innocency and love: We were then more simple, more moderate, and less guilty and bloody. And are now more enraged, more hardened, and more polluted: Therefore the further we go in this way, the worse we are, and the deeper shall we plunge our selves in misery.

The whole Party that stand out in opposition to the present Governors and Government of the Nation, are divided in all things, and in the kind or degree at least of their enmity: Some are more gross and carnal, and thirst for war and blood: but many are taken off in part, from hopes of any good by war, but yet their spirits are still in enmity; preaching against, praying

M against,

against, or cursing, reviling and condemning them, as enemies to God and his people; and denouncing and expecting judgements from heaven against them.

Both these are of the same nature, are from the same root or fountain, and will, if there be occasion, fall into the same Channel: Indeed all *strife and envy*, though it be but *in the heart*, yet it is in the judgement of the holy Apostle James, chap. 3. 15. *carribly, sensual and devilish*: And therefore it doth darken, pollute and defile the soul: And by how much more inward or seeming spiritual it is, it is by so much the more dangerous; because more *devilish*: And being so, no man can command it; it will master every mind in which it is, and lead him at last to carnal wayes, if it be not outwardly restrained: For he that will curse, will also destroy: And he that doth the greater, what should hinder him to do the less? They that condemn men to Satan and to Hell, they will hardly forbear killing of them, if they have power and opportunity: or doing such mischief, as their hatred directs them to.

The root of all this is the Serpent: One of the Serpent's roots, comes forth a Cockatrice, and his fruit is fiery flying Serpents: From this root the Serpent shoots forth this hissing Adder

Adder or Cuckatrice of cursing : And the
 snail in a fiery flying Serpent : the former
 soon gets wings, and flames out in open
 hostility.

I aim at no less then the root of this hatred
 in all men, the Devil : And finding, that he
 hath at last taken Sanctuary in Religion, and
 the profession thereof, and hath therein
 acted with so much vigor and security : I
 must pursue him into your hearts and spirits :
 It is his main fort, Zeal for God and his
 Cause, if we can bear him hence, we shall
 hope to drive him out of the earth : For if
 he hold he taken from him, he will have
 very little strength to make resistance any
 where else. That this enemy is amongst
 you, we have sufficient proof : We follow
 him by a train of blood, and by the track of
 all the beasts his companions : pride, cove-
 tusness, falshood, self-seeking : And we see
 the smok of his confusion, and hear the
 noise of his violence among you : Therefore
 you must endure to be assaulted and search-
 ed, and know it will cost you dear, it will
 shake the whole frame and foundation of
 your Religion, to have him quite destroyed
 in you, as he did so in me, his root lies deep :
 But if you can bear the tryal, and become
 free from this foul enemy, your persons
 and

and gifts will shine in the true and everlasting glory of the *Lamb of God*: Possibly you may have the honour of yielding up and slaying the last and greatest strength of this enemy of mankind.

I am satisfied that the *horns* of his *beastly* power are both sawn off, and scattered: And that the *Lamb of God* is conqueror, and doth begin already to bud and spring forth in many persons, who do abhor the filth and deceit of war, blood and wrath: And do see that nothing springs from thence, but mischief and confusion: To help forward the birth of this spirit of love, and to guide *your feet in a way of peace*; have I engaged in this discourse: It will be an honourable and lasting conquest to overcome him: He hath betrayed and spoyled all other your conquests: Now we shall be revenged on him: and *destroy him*, who hath *destroyed by you*; and then *destroyed you also*.

I suppose there is a rich treasure of life, righteousness, and holiness, hid in the nature of man: Yea I know it, and am one with it: Even the very *Kingdom of God is among us and in us*: This rich treasure hath come forth in profession, name and prophesy, in your spirits: But it hath miscarried and fallen short: This is certainly from this evil

one ; it is he that hath done you this mischief :
 And it is he amongst your selves ; For an
 open enemy could not hurt you, could not
 stand before you : It is he that hath betrayed
 you ; His great strength lies in *enmity* ,
 whereby he brings darkness , *confusion and*
every evil work : You know , confusion and
 enmity, divided, distracted and ruined you :
 What need we any plainer evidence ?
 Therefore it must be enmity and hatred that
 hath destroyed you : And it must be victory
 against him and it, that must save you : We
 have already shewed you, that hatred, though
 it begin against those that are further off,
 yet it will not stay there : If it be admitted,
 it will reign. He that will hate any man, be-
 cause he differs from him, or because he is
 sinful, will hate his nearest friend, because
 he may and doth differ, and is sinful : He
 that to preserve himself and his own way of
 Religion, will destroy a *Cavaleer*, will upon
 the same ground, destroy a *Presbyterian*, *In-*
dependant or *Quaker* ; and consequently all
 that oppose him : Indeed, *he that will not*
suffer for sinners, for enemies, must resolve to
kill all sinners and enemies, or all that will
not conform to him : Therefore it is the same
enmity, wherewith you prosecuted your first
 enemies and your brethren : the very same

violence and self-love, that enraged you against them, kept you from agreeing one with another : And the same conceits, that you were the people of God ; and that yours was the only way of God ; that made you abjure and renounce the King and Church : the very same opinion and confidence, made you oppose one another : Each man being confident, his own way, was the only way, made you unyielding one to another : For that which will not submit to anything, but what is Gods mind, and what he knows to be Gods mind, must necessarily oppose every man that differs from him : You know whereunto this tends : And therefore there can be no peace, but in that love, which can bear with that, which to him doth not appear to be Gods mind, or can submit to them that do not in all things the holy and perfect will of God : And if we have so much love and pity, as to bear them that do err in a little ; if we have more love, we may bear them that err much : The truth is, we must either quarrel with all ; or bear the weakness of all, in love to all.

It is therefore this enemy that hath abused you, and misled you, into those dark wayes in which you now lie : Hitherto you have not known whither you have gone ; be perswaded

swaded now by light reason, and experience, not to follow him, who draws you into a snare, and there spoils you of your peace and safety.

We suppose you are travelling towards the Kingdom of Christ: I believe you would see him upon the throne: The enemy tells you, These men that you oppose hinder him and his Kingdom; and that by their destruction, Christ shall be exalted: You are here in quite out of the way to his Kingdom.

First, While you seek to gain a Kingdom for him; you deny to acknowledge that Kingdom, which his Father hath already given him: He is *set down upon his Fathers Throne*: And that throne is everlasting: You may therefore seek a Kingdom for your selves, but not for him; And in doing so, you do both deny, and resist his Kingdom: And fight with him, because he doth not set you up with him.

Secondly, His Kingdom is first in patience: *The Kingdom and patience of Jesus*: And a blessed Kingdom it is, to rest in suffering: They that are truly Kings with him, have the Kingdom in themselves; and first enjoy it on the Cross; *triumphing there*: They who by the riches of their natures, or by God in them, can enrich poverty, make

bonds free ; that can live in death, love and bleſs enemies , they are fit to raign : For when ſuch come to the Kingdom, they will enrich, ſave, bleſs and do good to all, and hurt none : But they that cannot bear the worſt of evils among men, will themſelves be a burden to men, if they get to the throne : The good God who loves man , proves and tries his own *Son* , before he gives him the Kingdom : And will not commit the Government to him, till he hath found that he can be happy without it : till he can *glory* on the Croſs : till he can die for others, and be more happy in laying down his life and honour for them, then in receiving honour from them : This *Lamb* doth overcome : For *he is King of Kings* : He hath the Kingdom of God in him, and therefore all Kingdoms in his nature : And needs not take from others, but gives to others : And *they that are with him, are* (as he is) *called, faithful and choſen* : They do partake of his royal nature, and are *called*, to ſuffer and to raign : And in both are *faithful*, and therefore *choſen* to it, they ſtrive not for it.

Thirdly, *That only is mighty, and ſhall raign, that hath power with God* : They that will overcome any thing truly, muſt overcome

come him; because *he is the Kingdom, and the power, and the glory*: Now nothing prevails with him, but *Lamb*; absolute and perfect subjection to him, hath only power with him: And therefore none shall or can reign with him; but they that will not resist him, nor any power that he sets up over them: For *whosoever resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God*, Rom. 13. 2. By this Christ overcame, and is *set down upon the throne*: And by the same *Lamb*, nature keeps what he got; for this only is invincible and eternal: If you had all the force of *England*, and of the whole earth, yea of all the Angels; you could not keep it, it would all ruine and destroy it self, if you had it not, in the *Lamb*: for nothing can possibly subsist in the *nature of God*, or upon the *throne of God*, but this meek, patient *Lamb*: For it is eternally subjected to God, and therefore he is eternally pleased with him, and eternally honours him.

Fourthly, *The Lamb is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords*: His Kingdom is on high, *higher then the Kings of the earth*; their glory, riches, titles and honours are below him, they are his servants or children: And therefore he cannot set himself to oppose them; nor can any that have his spirit:

These

These low contests of war, are the business of earthly and sensual men; that live in the mire and dirt of the world; who are hurt and offended, with each others wayes and passions: But he is on high, and so are they that raigh with him; beyond the reach of all these things: He is over them all; and gives these Kingdoms to whom he please: And when he hath given, will defend and protect in that gift, as long as he please, and in what way he please: *And they that are with him, are called;* to know what he doth, and do as he doth: Therefore if you seek for the Kingdom of Christ, you must ascend by suffering, into this glory; from whence all men receive, all their honour, power and riches: And then you will cease contending with that which he gives.

Fifthly, Christ is now in the exercise of his Kingdom upon you, and you are his subjects and servants; now under his rod and iron scepter: He hath brought you down, and set up those that you would destroy: And is, you know, righteous and just in it: You are under the justice of his Kingdom; and the first true and pure sense you shall have of his Kingdom, is of the wrath of it: You may talk of his glory, but must come to feel his anger, he pleased with
it,

it, submit to it, and rest in it, before you come to enjoy his love : This I can affirm upon certain knowledge and experience : That if you will not embrace and kiss this his judgement, you shall never rise higher, neither in heaven nor in earth : Therefore know he reigns now in righteousness, and give him that *glory* that is due to him, give him *glory*, by taking *shame* before all the world : That glory you may give him, and it is all the Kingdom you or any flesh can give Christ, to suffer from him : But to think that as soon as you attain a notion of his Kingdom, and a weak one, that presently you must have share with him in it, is high presumption : For man or flesh, to think to have it with him, is to take it from him, if they could.

Therefore you are miserably deceived, by the Prince of darkness, and deluded by him : he would persuade you, that you are for Christ and his Kingdom, when indeed it is for your selves and your own advancement : You are persuaded, that you would exalt him, and set him upon the Throne ; whereas he is already upon the Throne, judging you and that carnal mind : You can give him no Kingdom ; you may acknowledge the Kingdom he hath : Indeed if any
will

will give him a Kingdom, they must give of their own : If then you had a glory and a Kingdom, and could lay it down for him and to him ; you might then be said to exalt Christ : And so far as you can bear this rejection that you are under ; and publickly justifie him, and condemn your selves and the state and spirit, in which you stood and acted, as unworthy to stand up in his name and presence : So far you will give him glory, and make him to be honoured and feared in the world : Could you and I come forth, and openly declare, that God may use us, and all men, and all our Zeal and Religion, in what service he please : But that he will not suffer, either us, or any other to raaign with him ; so long as any thing of a private, self-seeking, proud or cruel spirit remains in us : This lively and experimental testimony will make him to be honoured and feared. And should I and you say and confess ; that the blessed God, hath such love to mankind, that he will suffer neither me nor you, to have place in his Church, till we can love and forgive all ; and bear the sins and curse of all men : We shall thereby render him loved and honoured : For this indeed is, and alwayes was his mind : he would not give the Kingdom to Jesus, till he manifested this spirit
in

in him; neither did Christ desire it upon any other terms: You may speak and do as you will; but this is my sense and experience: Therefore God hath brought me down, and made me taste death again and again, because he will not endure me to stand or to minister before his Throne, till I can bear and forgive all the folly and sin of those, to whom I minister: And till by frequent deaths, and rejection, he hath killed that root of enmity to men, that curses them, and brought forth that love that can be accursed for them; It is his way, it is his nature, he dealt so with Christ, and therefore must be justified and honoured for it: And so I do with my soul: And desire office and employment in *his Church*, upon no other terms: Blessed for ever be his holy name for it, in my heart: And blessed be his name, in this Church and Nation: And let all *his people* say *Amen*: For he will establish only such ministers over them in his house, as are of his, and his Sons in mind and spirit.

God may and doth for a time employ other spirits, to do baser services, to break, afflict and punish, so long as there is proud flesh to be subdued: But none shall be admitted to minister healing, life and salvation, but such as are of this spirit: The form or
 title

title is little, and the question is not great, who or which? But this is the Nature and Spirit chosen of God, to rule his people.

Lastly, Let me assure you, under the word and oath of Jesus: *Verily, verily, except you be born again, you cannot see the Kingdom of God, Joh. 3. 3.* Except you be born out of this earthly, sensual darkness, into heavenly light; out of this heathenish or legal spirit, into the largeness of heaven; you cannot so much as see the Kingdom of God, so long as you think that it consists in a multitude of prayers, in the opening of Scriptures, in fleshly striving for earthly liberty, and earthly power; you do not, you cannot see the Kingdom of God: Alas, you admire your selves, your zeal and intentions, your gifts and notions; But what are these do to the Kingdom of Jesus Christ? which is over all things in heaven, in earth, and under the earth: Over all things, first in heaven, he employes innumerable Angels, and all their holiness, power and light, in distinct ages and places: And brings them forth successively, to all their parts, and to show the utmost of their strength and wisdom in governing the world: And when he hath done with them, folds them up as a vesture, layes them

them aside, and changes them for others :
 Possibly all that you have attained to, may
 not amount to one Angel : Be it what it
 will, you cannot but confess, one Angel
 may do as much and more, know as much
 and more, speak as much and more, then all
 you have done : And that in greater holi-
 ness, purity, brightness and majesty : And
 when he hath done it, must bow down and
 be dismissed : Why then should you be
 troubled at the fall of your works ?
 Secondly, Christs Kingdom extends to all
 men, in all Nations : He hath power to spi-
 rit and anoint all men, with what spirit he
 please, to sanctifie them and gift them ;
 either as heathens, so he did *Cyrus* and his
Adels ; or as Jews, so he did *Sam* ; or as
 Christians, so he did the Saints of old : And
 yet none of them must raige, only minister,
 and serve in those spirits. He hath said in-
 finite variety of gifts in mans nature, and
 knows how to use them all, and will have a
 time for every purpose : And as he will draw
 out the good of every man, of what degree
 soever, so the evil of every man : All
 mens lusts and corruptions, must be drawn
 out and judged : In the state of things, mens
 Religion and Gifts lie uppermost, and cover
 their sins ; that Religion must have a time

to work, and have honour or reward for that work; and when it is worn out, it must, as an old garment, be laid aside. And then that evil that is under that form of Godliness, must be seen, shewed forth and punished: *In another state*, the good may lie under the evil: God hath a work and an object prepared for that evil; when its work is done, then the good will rise, and have its time and place. Thirdly, As Christ rules all Angels and men, so all Devils, all infernal spirits, and will bring them forth, out of the bottomless pit, into his own *House and City*, and give them their time and place, to shew forth all the evil that is in them: And thereby judge them; and then cast them into the Lake of fire for ever: And there are various sorts and kinds of *flesh*, or humane weakness, for them to feed upon, in the nature of man: What is theirs, they do challenge, and must have; first for words and actions, and then for shame and punishment: And if we do in the least, *see the Kingdom of Christ*; we shall be content to take our lot in any of these, or in all of them, as it pleases God to dispose of us: If your minds were enlarged into the sight and view of the greatness of the Kingdom of God, and the continuance of

of it in all ages, everlastingly; you would, with submission and joy consider, and behold the present works of God upon your selves and upon the Nation: But so long as you are shut up in that narrow spirit, and limit the Kingdom of Christ, to such a poor, inconsiderable, temporary thing, as your present dispensation and service, you cannot understand any thing of it: Therefore know, that you are in darkness, and know not whither you go; you are quite out of the way to Christs Kingdom.

S E C T. XIII.

WE will suppose likewise, that you do desire holiness, and that your trouble is, either that you, or the Nation is no more holy: And therefore in zeal for reformation, you go forth against the present state of things, as unholy, denouncing wrath against it, and seeking the destruction of it: Herein likewise you are extreamly blinded by enmity: For,

First, That holiness which you profess, and in which you live, is not the holiness of Christ, *you are not holy as he is holy*; and therefore it cannot stand before him: it

neither is, nor shall be, accepted, to raigin with him : It may do him service, be a scourge in his hand ; it may stand before men, before worse men in the field ; it may stand before mens worldly passions and lusts ; before the Lawes of men, and their punishments : It may stand before prisons and chains, yea before death it self : And so will the holiness of moral men, heathens or Jews, and of all sorts of Christians : But it cannot, it shall not stand *before God* : 1. It is impure : 2. It is imperfect in its kind : 3. It is fleshly and fading : 4. It is not an holy nature : 5. It is not holiness that can take away sin : 6. It is not holiness, that can take away the sins of the world : And therefore not the holiness of God and Christ.

Secondly, As it is short in its kind, and insufficient to answer the *perfect and good will of God*, either in your own souls, or upon the Nation ; so it is corrupted, openly defaced, and for guilt rejected : Because it is *polluted*, it is not *your rest* : To abide and persist in a way and state disowned and refused by God ; is not only sloth and ignorance, but unbelief and disobedience : God never pulls down one dispensation, but he provides another. If you were not intangled in your self-righteousness, and your minds

minds not captivated by Satan ; the very principles of holiness that are in you, would make you distaste your present state ; which hath been proved to be vain and false, and full of opposition and contradiction : There is in you a seed of truth, love, and purity ; which must make you loath that state that hath been and is found by constant experience, unclean, formal, and full of enmity to one another and all men : However you judge of me, as unholy, I must tell you, I have a long time, not only witnessed against the corruption of it, but have turned from it ; even from the best of what is abroad, of every sect : And that in the sincerity of my love and affection, to the pure and holy nature of Jesus Christ : And so far as I have in any small measure partaked of his holy Spirit ; I have born your iniquities, and been pressed and burdened with them, grieved for them, and shamed of them : I do not now blame you from a common or humane spirit, though that also is able to find gross defects in you, and in the best of your way : It is by it, men blame you : And you by it, blame one another : But from that holiness, wherewith I stand before God for you ; and in that love and pity to you, wherein I intercede for you, and could lay down my life for

you : I may say more ; For I know, and find that none comes unto the Father to intercede for sinners, but by the Son : both in the name and spirit of the Son : None minister truly before God ; but in that love of Christ, who can be accursed for Brethren.

From deep experience of God ; of my own soul, and of your state, and from a long and sore travel in all, do I write this to you : That whatever you account of your selves, by *comparing your selves with your selves* ; or with one another, or with them that are visibly worse then you : Yet when you shall but *strive to enter into the strait gate*, that you may indeed come into the Kingdom of God, and his naked face and presence : I say, when you shall but seriously and in truth desire it, and press after it : you will abhor your selves, and that kind of holiness in which you now live : Yea I know in your approaches to God, which are not spiritual, naked and heavenly, but earthly, fleshly, and in letter or image only ; yet in that presence of God, which you enjoy, you are full of self-condemnings, and self-upbraidings : But that being but an *outward Court*, into which your Religion brings you ; it may shew you the outward spots and blemishes of your Religion, but cannot

cannot discover to you, the root and bottom of the evil that is in you.

Thirdly, You are now, in a zeal for your forms of worship, and for those gifts and graces that attend them; opposing, condemning and reviling in words and religious exercises (to what that tends, all men know) the *persons, ministry and worship*, now set up in the Nation: Against these you run headily and carnally; for consider what you oppose, not Satan in these *persons, offices and worship*, but the things themselves: That which you oppose and fight against, being outward and carnal, such is that also by which you do oppose them: So that the business is, not to pull down sin and iniquity, and set up holiness; but to pull down the outward power, means and ministry of the Bishop; and set up the Pastor: In truth it is to pull down them, and set up your selves. This being a carnal and fleshly contest, (though covered with the name of God.)

1. It is unclean. 2. And being unclean, that which comes from it must needs be unclean also: and thereby you promote, not holiness, but the contrary sin: For contention and war have done, and still do, wound and slay the holy life, which is pure and peaceable; and carnal strife wastes the meek and

good spirit : If you should attain what you aim at, and destroy again the whole outward frame of Church and State, and set up your selves; except you had the holy and mighty Spirit of God, to destroy the root and spirit, as well as the form, and to open hell, and shut them up for ever, as the Spirit did Christs enemies; they would recover again, as they have done : But such a Spirit and such a Power you have not; I suppose if you could damn them all to hell presently, you would not do it; you have more mercy in you, as men to men, your Brethren; And I am sure, when you have power to do it, you will not do it; because he that hath power to do it, will not, doth not do it : And he will never give his power, but he will give his goodness and mercy likewise.

Again, if you could thrust out them, and exalt your selves and way in their place, how would holiness be advanced? It would be but one thing removed, and another of the same nature brought in : for it is of the same kind with theirs; humane, earthly, and living in the same region, else it could not fight with theirs : If it be but of the same earthly nature, it must needs be worse, not better; because it rises by war, and contention ;

tion : And therefore must needs be harder, sharper, and more cruel ; and thereby suppresses the softer ; and attains its place by force : And yet when you have done this, except you have a more holy Spirit, to guide, lead and unite you ; you will not be able to settle your selves.

It is a tryed and judged case ; that this spirit in which you act, hath not that truth and power, that can wholly destroy what is ; nor that love and light that can reform it ; nor yet that wisdom, that can provide a better : And therefore, you did overturn this Government, throw it in the dirt, and leave the Nation void, for more wickedness to enter : and then suffer the old to recover, maimed and broken, into a fouler house then it was : Or else you must go on to perpetuate and establish contention and confusion in the Nation : This is both reason and experience ; and may convince you, if any thing will.

If you have not a more holy, more true, and more excellent spirit, you can never attain what you seek ; either an extirpation of this Power and Government, or establish a better : If you cannot effect this, you will but fill your selves, your Religion and the Nation, with violence, fury and enmity, by

all your opposition you make : But raise a deal of dust, to blind your own eyes and others : But stir and provoke black and malignant spirits, both in you and against you, as you have done.

And if you had that holy Spirit, which only can prosper you in such an undertaking: Then I am sure you would forbear this kind of carnal and wrathful opposition : For the spirit of Christ is of the nature of Christ, most holy and most gentle, gracious and merciful : He is so holy, pure and incorruptible, that he can and doth make these things, uphold them, and walk in them, and in all the wayes and forms of men; in the midst of all their vanity and iniquity; and not be defiled with them : And this Spirit, when you are led by him, will enable you to live, either above them, or besides them, or in the secret of his Tabernacle, which is within all these forms; and that with purity, peace and content : And this Spirit that upholds and gives being to all forms and persons; doth distinguish and perfectly judge, between the good and the evil of all *persons* and *things*; and doth eternally chuse and gather unto himself, that which is holy in all, and casts the chaff and dust to the Serpent, and him and it, into the Lake of fire.

If

If therefore you have this Spirit, and will do that visibly, which he doth eternally; then you must by him first gather all these things, and all the parts of the broken Church and Nation, under his wings; that he may do with our Chaos, as he did when he made the world; first sustain, cherish, and brood upon this desolate state, and then form a new one: For if you cannot receive all into your hearts, and bowels of love, you will never renew, or reform any thing: For *love is the first moving cause of all good: It is love only that hath in it that mercy, that life, that goodness, that can heal and reform the poor diseased and decayed state of man, and of the Church.*

This excellent divine nature of God, *Love*, hath rejected with indignation, your harsh and severe spirit, of self-safety and self-seeking, into confusion and shame; And hath taken the work out of your hands into his own; after you have by violence and unskilfulness, spoyled, wasted and ruined, he will himself, save and restore: And in order to it, takes the whole frame of things in all its sin, death, curse and misery, both persons, parties, forms and states, into the bowels of his most tender compassions; into himself and his own nature, life and being, who is
Emanuel,

Emanuel, God with us : In our flesh, and so in and under our sins and curse ; bearing of them for us, and from us : He hath love to those *persons* that you would destroy, finding his own image in them ; for they are his own creatures and children ; therefore he will save them ; and first pardon, and then remove their iniquities : In those *offices*, that you would destroy, he knows there is good in them, and in the honour and riches belonging to them ; and therefore will take away the abuse and corruption of them : And in that *service* that you so much vilifie, there is heavenly excellency, which must be preserved, purified, enlightened ; and all the death, darkness, and prophaneness separated from it : *The holy one of Israel* will do this.

Therefore to conclude this point of holiness, you may and must know, That you were *sanctified*, with a measure of gifts, for a service for the execution of Gods displeasure : Its work is finished, the gifts corrupted, and now as to publick work upon the Nation rejected ; and under a judicial blindness and confusion, because of an evil spirit that did and doth still possess them : It is the righteous judgement of the Spirit of God upon them : who hath, though your gifts
and

and performances be many and solemn, *cast them as dung in your faces* : If you will retreat with them, in humility and repentance, to attend the purifying of your own souls, and the purging away your own sins, you will find mercy to your selves. But if you think by them, to exalt your selves again, into dominion and power in the Nation ; you will but involve your selves in more misery and wrath ; and *like a Bull in a net*, entangle your souls in greater errors and outward troubles : The holy Spirit (I know and have felt) did bear you a long time, as a heavy burden ; and at last eased himself of you, as a clog and cumber to him : And now I with joy feel that he is free to exercise his own power, to effect and perfect, what you have failed in : It will be your only safety, now to retire, into deep silence and humility, and leave the Church and Nation, to him that is Lord of both : who made both, and I can assure you, will perfectly reform both.

S E C T. XIV.

BESIDES the two things mentioned of the Kingdom of God, and of holiness, there are some other things, that you have sought in these late wars, which are still in your minds : As *common liberty*, or the *liberty of the people*, and *liberty of conscience* : But it is most certainly true, and by experience now manifested, that these things are not in that spirit, in which you have acted and still stand : Nor is this way of strife and contention, the way to obtain them,, but the contrary : For as war and enmity is against the *Kingdom of Christ*, which is a Kingdom of peace : And as they harden, pollute, and vitiate the mind of man, which is contrary to *holiness* : So they do naturally exalt will and force, rage and jealousy, and so must necessarily eat up and devour all *liberty* ; and turn all into the worst kind of tyrannie ; if the Father of mercies, and Spirits, doth not enlarge, mollifie, and sweeten the nature of man, which wrath and war, doth imbitter and harden.

It is true, *common liberty* is written, in the *common nature* of man, in some degree ;
though

though it be very weak : This *liberty* came forth in you , in notion, profession, and affection, beyond what it doth in other people; and it hath been not only talked of, but desired by you; yet *that spirit* in which you rose, and in which you seek it, hath not any *true liberty* in it; And if it hath not *liberty* in it, it can neither attain it for you from others, nor give it by you to others : it never could do either.

Mind well what I write, else you will not understand it : For it is, I know, besides the common reason and apprehensions of men, and therefore seems to be, and is, strange to the dark and private spirit of the world; but you and all men must know, that there is a divine reason in these things; which ought to be, and therefore shall be, the rule of mans Reason.

Know then first, That we began our wars upon this principle of delivering *our selves*, from the yolk, of the Law and Government of the Church and Kingdom; being of another spirit and way from them: And upon the same principle of *self-safety*, and *self-freedom*, was the war carried on; and the whole business, from step to step : This seemed to us very just and righteous, that we should have liberty to serve God, according
to

to what light and understanding he gave us : And there is an undoubted right in it : Yet we see to what infinite confusion, and strange enmity and division, this principle hath brought us : And therefore there is some notable evil, either in the principle, or in the liberty, or in both : I think both will be found faulty : I shall only charge the principle (that is) our seeking *self liberty*, or liberty *for our selves*. Whatever good is in the thing, it doth and will miscarry, so long as it is upon this bottom *self*.

Such is the large and good nature of the God and Father of all, that he will blast and wither every private and particular spirit. It is contrary to him, hath no root in him, and therefore though he do sometimes feed it awhile, and make use of it, yet he will at last reject it ; and never suffer it to stand up with him in his Kingdom : He may and doth admit it to work, and act, in some low, remote, and dark state : But if he be true to his own Good nature, or to the nature of his Son, the Saviour of the world : he must not admit it to reign with him, nor will he : Yea though it cloath it self with *salvation*, either of our own, or others souls ; which is a thing most agreeable to the mercy of God ; yet will he never *save* any in that spirit : But resist

resist and oppose that salvation, and all the graces and gifts whereby men seek it, till he kill that root of self : For he hath given it as a Law to Christ, and so by Christ to men ; *he that will save his life shall lose it*, and *he only that will lose his life shall save it* : It was the great lesson he taught *his Son*, and the first that Christ teaches his Disciples : *Let him deny himself* : If Christ and his Disciples, must deny so excellent and holy life, and self, that they may ascend unto the Father of all : If that holy and blessed state must be abjured and renounced, and so come to the curse : What can you think of *self-seeking*, of an *outward liberty* and freedom, from outward sufferings ? it is no wonder to see this brought to shame and confusion.

God hath pursued this root of self-seeking, even in spiritual things, by many sore and severe tryals in my spirit : By which I came to understand what an irreconcilable and desperate enemy it is to God, and what deadly poison there is in the nature of it ; and how dangerously it will corrupt the best things in men : Where ever it is admitted, it will and doth kill the life of Grace, if God kill not it : And though at first it seem zealous and holy, yet it will break out into gross self-

self-seeking : For he that prays, preaches, believes, studies, and receives the promises of eternal life to *himself*, or to a party, which is but a large *self* ; will at last in all things, mind himself ; and so will be cruel, covetous, ambitious, and any thing that *self* suggests to him : And this I find to be the root of all that narrowness that was in this Party, and of that gross *self-seeking*, that all men take notice of : There is at the bottom of the whole business, and at the root of all their Religion, a spirit to seek their own salvation, liberty, exaltation and honour : And being fixed and bound to this principle, they could never enlarge themselves to the good of the whole ; nor were they ever capable of any larger principles, nor can they be, till this state be slain in them : And though they shift from one thing to another, they will find no rest, till they subject this state to loss, and thereby come to partake of the largeness of the love of God, and Christ : Who teaches us to seek, *not our own, but the things of others* ; not *our own* liberty or salvation, but the liberty and salvation of *others*.

And therefore the Lord of all, that he might discover, judge and destroy this principle, so contrary to his own *love and life*, hath

hath so ordered it : That he that will *not deny himself*, his life, liberty and salvation, for the good of others, in conformity unto Christ, and in obedience to his Gospel ; They will be found to be persecutors, cruel destroyers of others lives and liberties ; and so be brought to shame and destruction : *They that will not suffer for, and from others ; others must suffer from them : And they that cannot give their life, will take away others life* : It is and will be resolved into this ; that men must either live in the merciful and saving spirit of *Christ*, or in the cruel spirit of the *Devil* : And no shew or form of godliness, nor pretence of right or religion, can evade this judgement : For *strong is the Lord* that thus judges.

It is therefore evident, and God will make it good, that there is not common salvation, nor good will to man, in any private spirit of any Party, but in the Spirit of Christ, the *Saviour of the world* : And that this true publick spirit, where ever it is, it shews it self by this, it will suffer for and from others, and not make others suffer from it ; it will and doth give life and liberty, and not take it away.

The first step into freedom, is out of our selves : and the beginning of all ingenuity, is

to be able, to examine, try, and judge our selves : If by experience, and by what is here written you attain, the least spark of true freedom; and can but reflect upon your selves, and remember the first rise of your work; that it was to deliver *your selves*; and that in the whole progress of it, it was terminated and bounded in *self*, either in a finer or a grosser way; and could do nothing but prefer or exalt *your selves* and Party, or them that would confirm and strengthen *your selves*, by serving of you : And that all the while you were busie in this work, you could not but oppress others; not only your enemies, but the whole Nation : And that none of you could ever produce any publick ease, liberty, or advantage to the people; but on the contrary, taxes and burdens : If you have but so much ingenuity, as to judge your selves, state and spirit, and justifie God and Christ, we shall soon agree : If you do so, and come forth of that hole, that pit, of a narrow private Religion, that *self* or *party*, holiness and salvation; which is really now a pit and snare, whatever exaltation it hath had : If you can now but look out of it, and view things in the light of the universal goodness of God, your reason will tell you.

That

That for you that are but a small part of the Nation ; it may be a *tenth* ; either for number or quality ; a *tenth* , that is, a more active, vigilant, more spirited part of the whole : For you, in times of trouble, to get the sword into your hands, and to overthrow the Government and Governors of the whole ; which the whole chuse and rest satisfied in , and to seclude the *nine* parts of the representative of the whole, and admit of none to rule but your own *tithe* : To subdue the civil Government , and exalt the sword : To depose *one* , natural, chosen, beloved ; and *one* in judgement and affection with the *nine* parts : And to set up *many*, in many various wayes and opinions, all strange to the whole Nation, if not hated : And to impose your selves, your sense and reason, your taxes and payments, with your religions and opinions , by force of arms upon the people ; under penalty of being malignants, the wicked , and so not worthy to enjoy any priviledge : If you have as much power in your reason now, as you had once in your swords, to make this, *common freedom*, I must be your slave, and the whole Nation with me.

Suppose you intended freedom ; yet good meanings or intentions must not justify ill actions ;

actions : Good intentions will not avail in a mans own soul ; much less save a Nation : They are false intentions , if the thing it self intended , be not in the intention : If the thing it self be there , it will wisely direct , and strongly work , to bring forth it self , and will not miscarry : But that which is a false and deceitful intention , may seem to aim at the end , but as a *broken bow* , will carry the arrow to another mark , to a private advantage , and not publick freedom : But suppose that indeed you were publick persons , and had the good of the whole Nation in you , and knew it before you offered to stir ; which to this day , you cannot own : Yet would you think to beat this freedom into the Nation by force ? Freedom is not freedom , if we be compelled to it : You never learned this , either of the *Law* or *Gospel* : God never would , nor did offer to rule over any , but by their consent : The most glorious things , if the subject be not disposed , prepared , and so opened to receive them ; are and will be a torment to minds averse from them : By how much more , any way seems to have more light and strength then another ; if it enforce it self upon that which is weaker and darker , it is more injurious , then for the darker to impose it self upon the stronger :

stronger : Because, where there is light and strength, they are more able to bear the infirmities and burdens of the weak, then the weak is able to bear the strong : They that have light and strength, will shift well under the darker power, and either evade the force, or live and thrive under it : But if a weak dark people, come to be ruled by the force of a more knowing, they have nothing to support them, but must sink under it : And either they must dissemble and be hypocrites, or be sots and beaten like beasts, because they are not better, or be other-ways abused and enslaved.

People may set up notions of things to please their fancies, or to colour and paint a business : But for the *Common-people*, either they are well pleased with their Government and Governours, and so quietly rest under them ; and then they are as free, as they desire to be ; and so they are, having liberty to buy and sell, to purchase and enjoy their estates : Or if they are sensible that any thing oppresses them, as the Government of *England* is by Parliaments, they have power to free themselves, by chusing such Representatives as will take care of them and their liberties : Liberty is for men, not beasts ; beasts must be yoaked : If liberty be only

for men, then it must be a rational liberty, a freedom for reason, and a freedom according to reason : And if according to reason, then according to Law and by consent : And therefore the way to procure such a liberty, is not by war, which exalts force, and deposes reason : It exalts division, and destroys agreement : And there is no liberty, but where there is a free exercise of reason, in order to consent : And that *to my knowledge*, would never be admitted by the late power : *For that which stands by force, dares not submit to reason* : But know certainly, that as you do see, *war* provokes and exasperates mens minds into rage and jealousy, and pollutes the streams of Justice, filling mens hearts with cruelty, partiality, hardness and self-love : So the *Spirit of God*, in the shining forth of general love and light, into all persons and things ; will expell the darkness, and consequently the cruelty and oppression : *For the dark places of the earth, are full of the habitations of cruelty*, *Psal. 74. 20.* This spirit hath sufficiency of light and love, to expell the evil one, out of the whole body, out of Governors and people joyntly : And will not set up one against another : the people against the Prince, or the Prince against the people :
 Such

Such unskilful Surgeons, wound and break, but heal not : The wisdom of God, which formed all out of himself, and sustains them all in himself, hath life, light, and liberty, for the whole in himself, and will give it forth to all parts and parties.

S E C T. XV.

Liberty of Conscience hath been a great plea amongst us in these times ; a very busie body in our troubles : Whence he comes, and of what rase he is, I believe no body knows : If he can avoid examination, I perceive he will ; for he is very nice and tender, and will suffer no body to come near him : I did think to have let him pass, because as soon as he is touched, he will clamour : Therefore for my credit, I thought to avoid him : But I consider again, that it is not just, out of fear to fly any subject, in a mans discourse, if it lie in his way : Therefore if I will be true to my own mind, I cannot wholly wave him : I must a little try him ; or at least examine how he hath behaved himself in these times.

For my own self I profess, an universal Liberty for all forms and professions, from

the Papist to the Quaker, or Fifth-monarchy men : Because I know there is some good in all, and therefore have a love to all, not only of pitty, to the worst and weakest ; but of complacency : For I know, that although they are now drawn out into an opposition one against another, yet truth, that is but one in it self, is divided amongst them ; and therefore there is a secret union betwixt them : I know the widest meet, not only their persons in one life ; but their opinions in one reason also : And therefore it is no hard matter, I think, if they were but tractable, to put them all in one circle ; where the extream parts would meet : the beginning and end be the same : For certainly the Quaker, is a kind of a Catholick, and the Fifth-monarchy man is a kind of a Papist.

Another reason, why I would that all might have all *liberty of Conscience*, is, because I know there is that reason, and light in truth and power among us, which is able both to subdue and unite all mens consciences : For conscience is but *one*, and truth, the rule of conscience is *one* also. It is true, there is great confusion among us, and therefore abundance of error ; which shews there is much distemper, blindness, and sickness of mind :

mind : Outward punishments enrage and obdurate ; and therefore are improper remedies for diseased minds : They cannot heal the understanding ; but they may, and do harden the heart, against them that inflict them : and so confirm and strengthen the error and distemper, and fill the mind with more enmity , and consequently with more blindness : How much is poor man to be pittied, whose zeal for God and the worship of God , is so miserably distracted and misled ; as to be made use of , only to destroy one another : And that *Religion*, which is the Law of love, peace, and salvation, should become the great engine of death, wrath, and destruction ; and no remedy against it.

Sure it will be considered , That truth is one in Christ : That Jesus is the head of man ; and that mans nature, reason and understanding, is his own body and spouse : That Religion unites and binds this head and body, in a Covenant of marriage : That love, life and truth, are only in this union : And that therefore *truth*, *life*, and *love*, are together, and they that leave one, they leave all : If so, then they that love not, err from the truth , and they that by their opinions, are taught to hate and kill, live neither in love
nor

nor truth, but in death and darkness : Error and enmity do destroy , and they that do destroy , are most in destruction ; because to them may be applyed that title given to Satan, *Heb. 2. 4. he that had power of death* ; for they that in malice inflict it , have power of it.

All truth is most beautiful and lovely, even unto the reason of man ; and all error is a lye , and monstrous, even to the mind of man : both in it self, and in the foul and devilish effects of it : When the light shall shine forth to manifest this , men will of themselves fly from error , avoid hatred, and love the truth.

Satisfie your selves therefore , you that seem to be zealous for truth, of any side or party ; and know , That as mens souls and consciences are the body and Spouse of Christ ; so they are his care and charge : He hath with him a Law wherewith to govern this body ; and power over all conscience , and severe punishment , for them that are proud and rebellious : He hath a *spiritual Court* , and a *spiritual Law* , with power and authority , to execute *Spiritual judgments* : And conscience is most sensible of his strokes , and most easily subjected to him ; and therefore will be ruled by him :

To

To him it doth belong to do it, and to him alone, and he will do it.

Upon these grounds, I do in my spirit give liberty to all persuasions, having a persuasion and reason that comprehends them all in one : And knowing that one mercy and goodness, upholds, saves and forgives all ; and that one truth, and one Gospel, is under all, and in all : And being sensible, of that one enemy, that doth abuse all ; by engaging them, in zeal for some part of truth, against their brethren ; knowing likewise *that light*, that will scattter this darkness, and unite all in one, in one heart, and in one way : These things being true, there is reason all should have liberty, to challenge and plead their right, in order to agreement : Which must as certainly have its time, as confusion hath had his time.

There is order, in and under this confusion, and will arise out of it ; yea this confusion, is to this end, that a more large and excellent love and light might come forth, to reduce all this into order and harmony : And when it doth manifest it self, it will not only joyn some parts, that are nearest one to another ; but will unite all : *I absolutely think it impossible, to make any true union betwixt any two or three parties or sects in the Nation,*

Nation, leaving out the rest; as it is impossible to build an house, of some parts of the frame, of some posts and pillars, excluding and denying other parts.

There is a Church of *England*, or in *England* (it is I think all one) : If ever there was one, there is still one (if there be among us the profession and Faith of Jesus) Because *the Church is built upon a rock, and the Gates of hell cannot prevail against it* : If hell should take it captive, and either carry the Church into hell, or hell come forth and possess the Church, with all its filthyness, wickedness, darkness, and confusion : Yet it would be still *the body of Christ*, and therefore it still is, not only safe in all this ; but beloved and honoured by him : Anti-christ may and doth *sit in the Temple of God*, and defile this *temple of God*, but it is still *the temple of God* : And the Gentiles may enter *into the holy City*, and trample it under-foot, but it is still, and ever shall be, the *holy City*.

If we deny there is or was a Church, I am sure no man among us hath power to plant a Church : For no Church of God, was ever planted in the earth, but by power and authority, from heaven, and by a pattern from the Mount. Men cannot so much as repair a
decayed

decayed Church, without an heavenly anointing : Therefore if there was no Church there is none : For our new Churches challenge not *from heaven*, but from the letter.

If there be a Church of *England* ; then all English men that profess faith in Jesus are members of it ; Till this Church cast them out ; till they be judicially proceeded against ; by the Church her self : Be they never so corrupt, they are corrupt members, of her corrupt body ; till she recover her power to cast them out : And she and all her parts must own them, and bear them, and all their filth and guilt, till they be cut off.

It is not in the power of any parts except they have the power of the whole, to cast out any : It is much less in the power of any parts, to cast out the whole Church, or to unchurch the Church : Nor is it in the power of any to dismember himself : they may like froward children run away when they are ill used, but that doth not dissolve the relation betwixt parents and children ; nor acquit either from their duty : All the separations, and abjurations, of all the Independants, Anabaptists, and Quakers, doth not make them no members of the Church of *England* : Neither are they thereby no children of the true Fathers of the Church.

Nor

Nor must we therefore cease loving of them instructing of them, because they have like the *prodigal* got a portion, and gone from their *Fathers house*: If the relation holds, the duties of that relation, will be required; of Fathers, authority, wisdom, justice, and love; and of children, obedience, and subjection; And no ill affection or disposition, can dissolve a relation; An ignorant, weak, decayed old man, is a Father; and a forward, bold, rebellious Son, is a Son.

The way to bring wandering *sheep* to the fold, is to seek them out. And the way to reduce *prodigals*, is to suffer them to want: There are both these; *simplicity* to be sought out: and conceited *prodigality*, and this will *starve*, and come to great want: And then, if there be *bread* in our *Fathers house*, they will be compelled to seek it: I know certainly, they will be in great necessity, of spiritual food, that spend so prodigally, in *harlots houses*, in boasting, glorying, and quarrelling: and then where bread is, they must bow for it, and will: and then the *Bishop* and *Shepherd* that can feed them, will be honoured by them.

But if *England* be still a Church, or there be a Church in *England*, of old and late, and all men professing faith
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in Christ, are members; and neither the worst nor best, are dismembred, but all continue one body, though broken and under confusion: Then as every particular member is apart; so parties united by any bond of spirit, perswasion or opinion, must needs be a great part, an integral part: And if so, there can be no peace, nor building, but of all these parties: And it is easier, for a *workman*, to constitute a house of all, then for another to make a shed, or hovel of some parts: But there will never be any harmony nor health in the body, if every *joint* supply not its place: It is *love* only can unite and heal, and only an *intire love*, or a *love of the whole, to the whole*: If any part be rejected there is want of love, or love is not in that agreement, that leaves out any part; and if love be not there; the agreement will not hold: *Love* the more, the divisions, the wider, and greater the distance; the more able it is to unite, and the more pleased to do it; because it is infinite. And the greater the variety is, the more *wisdom* delights to shew its skill in ordering and composing of them into harmony; and the more excellent will the musick be, when composed.

It is not imaginable, that any one Party, can comprehend the whole: nor can any
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one Party comprehend any other Party : And therefore every person and Party, will in their divided state, think and conclude an union impossible : But as it is impossible for any party, or few parties to agree or to think how to agree ; so it is impossible but the whole must agree ; because she comprehends all the parts ; and they all do consist in her, and she consists only by and in all. Therefore as the reason of any, or many parts, be they eminent parts, cannot unite the whole ; while they stand as parts, divided from any of the whole ; So the reason of the whole, cannot but comprehend and gather into it all the parts , and consequently must unite all : For all do already meet in that universal reason, wherein and whereby both all the parts, and the whole subsist.

This is the reason of the liberty of conscience, that is in my mind : I would that all may have liberty to come forth , to come together, and to agree : and to agree first in this point of liberty: For it is impossible that ever we should agree or consent by force : No man will agree to be beaten : If we give not liberty to men to profess, enquire, and bring forth their minds, we deny them liberty to consent: For there cannot be a free consent, till there be all freedom to profess
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and to debate; and of all means, both of professing, and trying all things: What is restrained and imprisoned by jealousie and enmity, is thereby shut up in division, and denyed both the first step to, and the right means of agreement: And is thereby enforced to dwell in it self, and to maintain its own private divided state, being thrust out from all fellowship with the whole: The admitting all to come abroad, into open light and profession, with liberty to try, is the beginning of peace and agreement.

But as I would give this liberty of conscience: so I expect, and may justly challenge, a liberty to deal with this conscience, in the way of conscience: For therefore would I that their consciences may come forth, that they may be convinced and instructed: Sure then you will not deny me liberty to reprove, and rebuke; and if I can, to wound and afflict your consciences, if they be guilty: If they be not guilty, I cannot hurt them, if they be, it must be known, felt, and discovered, else they cannot be healed: It is a freedom that God hath given me, to reprove and reform, I shall use it, and I hope so use it, as not to be denyed the exercise of it: At this time, I would examine, this plea of liberty of conscience, as it hath
P been

been urged all along in our late troubles.

I do very much suspect this title and claim of conscience to liberty, or liberty for conscience, as it hath been, and still is promoted by many; that there is some notable evil in it, more then hath been yet discovered. For,

First, Where the whole is unsound, the parts must needs be so also: And therefore if there hath been deceit and hypocrisie, in the whole state and spirit of this work, this of liberty of conscience being a great part of the business, must necessarily partake of the corruption of the whole.

Secondly, I cannot derive it from any antient and honourable root. The Jews while they were in their own land, they needed not liberty, for they were under a Law of necessity and duty; I do not remember that ever they desired it, when they were in captivity: In *Egypt* they would not sacrifice, *Lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?* Gen. 8. 26. And in *Babylon* they said, *How shall we sing the Lords song in a strange land?* Psal. 137. 4. I am sure if you had been as sensible of your spiritual captivity, as they were of their outward, you would not have made such haste to sacrifice

hice and set up so many *notes or songs*: When you feel the confusion that is in your spirits, you will find you are still in *Babylon*, and *hang up your harps, and mourn* instead of *singing*: I am most certain of this, there hath been a whorish impudency in the great liberty taken, to pray, profess, build Churches, Ministries and Worship: And for this spiritual whoredom is liberty pleaded, as well as for conscience.

Neither did the Apostles, or the Primitive Christians, seek for liberty of conscience, from the Princes of the world: But having commission from Christ the supreme Lord, to preach the Gospel, they executed it boldly and freely: They were called both to preach and suffer, and therefore did not seek liberty from the cross: A true spiritual Ministry derives it self immediately from the person of Christ, who is exalted *far above all principalities and powers*: And being far above them, they need not, cannot rightly seek for a licence from them, to obey the commands of a superiour Lord. If the powers of the world be only *worldly*, and the life and religion of the *Saints heavenly*: the *heavenly* is above the *earthly*; and may justly bless, preserve and instruct the *earthly*: and the *earthly* is to submit to the spiritual and

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heavenly:

heavenly : If the powers of the world are, as they were then, *in the wicked one*, then it was not only in vain, but a wicked thing, for the servants of *Christ* to seek to his enemy *the devil*, and his enemies, *wicked men*, for an outward liberty : They would rather suffer from them, then so acknowledge them : Therefore liberty of conscience, will be found a new and upstart thing, born in this age, amongst many other weak things, and that it is not of the old rase of the right, generous, and *heavenly Saints* : It may be pittied and indulged, but cannot challenge much.

○ Thirdly, This liberty of conscience *seeks earthly things*, and outward freedom ; Which is not only for conscience, or but for an outward and earthly conscience ; and with that for worldly ease, honour, and advantage : For conscience, *if the Son make him free*, and so *he be free indeed* ; it can and doth live with God, and with men, in heaven and in earth, and under the earth ; in bonds, chains, and death : and is still free with God and *Christ*, and cannot be confined : It is therefore some outward thing that is pleaded for, as well as, or more then, liberty of conscience.

Fourthly, It is a common observation, that men while they have been under their enemies,

mies, and in a low condition, then they cry up liberty of Conscience; but when the same persons have attained power, they content not themselves then with liberty, but set up their consciences; to be a Law to others: It hath been practised by all sorts of people, as they have gotten power into their hands, in some degree or other: They have all punished some, for Conscience: Let this be well examined, and if we can, let us find out the reason of it; it will enlighten mens minds, and clear the truth: Consider then,

First, Whether conscience receiving its Law and rule from God, the supream Lord, ought not to exalt that Law (as it hath opportunity) and hold it forth as a Law to all men: I believe it is so; and therefore conscience taught and instituted of God, is truly royal and Princely in his nature, and both must and will rule: Which is the reason why neither the Jews nor Christians would seek to their enemies, or to the heathen States for liberty, but knowing and loving the majesty of their Lord, they would either raign with him, or suffer with him, and from him.

If this be the royal nature of truth, then it follows, 1. That whatever men profess,

when they are down and low, yet we must expect, that when they get up, they will exalt, that which they hold to be truth, as high as they can, and exalt themselves with it. And 2. If they pretend otherwise, they do either weakly or deceitfully hide and cover their minds; or else basely stoop below the majestie of truth, for present ease and advantage. And 3. If we our selves, by the Law of our own life and religion, do exalt our religion as a Law; we must not wonder if others do so also; but have reason to be content with it, and submit to it. And 4. Knowing that the Law and Religion of our Lord Jesus, must and will rule; if we have it with us, and in us, it will be sufficient,

1. To uphold us in a low state.
2. To assure us, that whatever other persons or spirits God sets up, they must come down with shame.
3. That when that Law comes to rise, we shall rise and raigh with it.
- And 4. In the mean time suffering with it, will prepare us to raigh with it, and him.

Secondly, If this be true, that conscience rightly taught and enlightened, is and will be a Law to all men; then what a poor or false conscience is that, which craves liberty of men? If it be only weak, it is to be pittied; if it be an evil thing, it is to be judged:

judged : Be in one or other, we see by experience it is to be suspected : For if it be carnal and naught, when it is low, it will be certainly worse when it gets power : If it be base, subtile, and serpentine, when it is poor; it will be cruel and tyrannical when it rises. Therefore though there be a natural right to liberty of Conscience, yet it is just reason it should be examined : For further,

Fifthly, They that profess much for liberty of Conscience, could never give it to others; neither to their enemies, that first denied it to them, nor to them that needed it from them : I do think they that contend for it, will never grant it : That large and generous spirit, that shall be able to give it, will neither need it, nor stoop so low as to ask it : And that narrow, low, fleshly mind, that knows not how to bear the darkness and shortness of them that are above him; I doubt would less bear the darkness and shortness of them that are under him.

Sixthly, This liberty of Conscience, hath brought forth to the Church, a very strange brood of absurd opinions, loose practises, proud and rebellious spirits, to the scorn of Religion, contempt of all kind of Government, breaking of all relations, of all bonds,

natural, civil and religious : Now that which is a cause or occasion of so much ill, hath certainly an evil thing in it : And therefore is no clear nor strong ground to engage upon.

There is no question, but men in tenderness to their own flesh and bodies, do when they are in danger of suffering, cry up liberty of Conscience, as a great thing, and decry the contrary beyond measure : Passion, passion for self, for self unmortified, to avoid the Cross, is not a proper judge of Laws, Liberties, Religions and Kingdoms : It doth likewise appear, from what hath been said, that this liberty contended for, is not according to the antient Christian and Apostolical spirit : But a carnal, impure and mixed thing : Yet on the other side, I do acknowledge, there is a humane and natural right in it, which although it be weak and low, ought to be considered and pittied : It being a thing of natural and rational equity, if it be fairly and rationally demanded, it may I suppose be had : His Majesty hath in goodness and prudence graciously promised and declared it : It is in it self a reasonable thing, and therefore if reasonably claimed, the reason of man cannot justly deny it : And much less *reason of State*, which is the reason
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of the Nation : Besides the natural reason of it, the present state of the Nation gives it a great advantage, and makes it even to *reason of State*, (which is the preservation of civil peace) necessary : And therefore nothing so likely to endanger it, as mens irrational, heady and violent opposing the Government of the Church and Kingdom.

And therefore I affirm, that for you to stand out, in open enmity to the present Government, in attempting war and hostility, or in preaching and praying against it, or cursing and reviling of it, as wicked or Antichristian (which tends to the destruction of it, either by war or otherwise :) To continue in this, is not the way to procure liberty of Conscience, but to overthrow and destroy it.

This liberty of Conscience, must be had, either by an utter ruine of all that is against it, and so of the present Government : Or else by a friendly agreement, with these or any other Governours : If you resolve upon the first, to destroy all that are not according to your conscience, that your conscience may have liberty : Then you would destroy all mens consciences but your own, and all men for their consciences ; which is
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the most contrary to liberty of Conscience that can be : Most contrary, because you will endure none but yourselves ; and that you would raise a war, that you might establish a Law of cruelty, which is a thousand times worse, then to persecute by an established Law and Authority : That power that you would have, must be thorow the lives, of thousands of your enemies ; and after that, thousands of your friends ; for they that strive for a power, never did nor never will agree in the sharing or administering of it : But when through blood and destruction of friends and foes, you have gotten it : If you should prevail, and you in your own persons escape, yet that power gotten by war, in that spirit, you and we in reason must expect, that it will be most cruel, because raised and begotten by cruelty. Indeed it is so horrid and irrational, that the bare proposing of it, will make reasonable men abhor such a thought : For nothing but irrational and blind zeal, with discontent and passion, can so much blind the nature of man, as to lead him into such unnatural things.

If your spirits, do indeed drive to this, to the removing and destroying the present state of things, as an accursed thing ; then
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be ingenuous, and seek not liberty from them, nor complain of them for not giving it : For every such acknowledgement of them, doth confirm them, and so contradict your prayers and endeavours to destroy them : Sometimes secretly and cunningly to curse them, and another time openly and for advantage to acknowledge them, is falshood and deceit : And will attain nothing but shame and confusion : For there is little but shame and confusion in it : It is a vile thing, in private and secret to pray, or warily to preach against a State, and openly to comply with it: in so doing our lives contradict our prayers, or our prayers our lives.

But if this be the drift of your spirits, though never so warily carried ; do you think, it is not felt and understood by them that you so oppose ? you cannot conceal it from them : It is wise counsel *Solomon* gives, *Curse not the King, no not in thy thought, or conscience, for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter* : It must be understood spiritually, for it cannot be meant literally : Angels are intelligences and intelligencers, they are principalities and powers, and attend both the *Throne* and *Altar* ; they are present in
 dominion

dominion at *Court*, and in your Closets at your *devotions* : They are *the birds*, and *that which hath wings*, that tell the matter : Publick authority, hath publick ears and eyes, and reach all corners : Spiritual intelligencers, as well as outward informers.

If they know and feel, that you intend their destruction ; must they not abhor that spirit, that under pretence of liberty of Conscience, really endeavours liberty of destroying, and of overthrowing Governments, to exalt themselves.

And if they understand any thing, they must think : These men seek our destruction, and as they pray for it, and preach it, so they will, if they can or dare, attempt it, as they have done : And therefore they having such a sense of you, you cannot in reason expect but that they should labour to suppress you : If they find rebellion, war, and wrath in the principles of it, though in religious duties and conscience ; will they not suppress both the rebellion, and conscience, and the duties or worship in which it is ? And shall they not be justified in so doing ? I am sure your Law and Practise will justify them : For the same thing hath been done often, and would be again, if you had power, while you are in this spirit.

When

When you shall recover either your own nature and reason, or the nature of the Lamb, out of this Spiritual drunkenness and cruel zeal; you will find,

First, That Antichrist, the great enemy of Christ, is also an enemy to man, to his life, peace, civil order, Law, and to all humane Ordinances.

Secondly, That this enemy is a spirit, *the Angel of the bottomless pit*: And therefore his chief seat and place is in spiritual things, in conscience, and in the spirits of men, and in those things wherein spiritual men, or the spirits of men, are exercised; in gifts, religion, and holy duties; and his last and greatest strength is not in corrupt forms, but in those that are most spiritual, most lively, zealous and gifted: Others are but the *flesh*, these the *horns of the beast*.

Thirdly, And therefore conscience, and the spirits of men, even in Religion, and in lively or spiritual Religion, is grievously polluted by him: This *Temple of God* is defiled by him: You must come to know it and feel it, as I have done.

Fourthly, The nature of this beast is to destroy; whence he hath his name *Apollyon*, a destroyer: His highest place is conscience gifted, mens spirits enlightened; and his highest

highest work is to kill and destroy ; and in order to that , to curse and blaspheme with those spiritual gifts.

Fifthly , This spiritual beast , this destroyer , cannot but be seen and felt by the common reason of men ; although they cannot judge him , yet they must have a sense of him , as an enemy to that life , and peace , in which they live ; and to that Authority and Government which is committed to them.

Sixthly , As they cannot but discern , and feel *the horns of this beast* , that pushes them and wounds them ; so they cannot but arm themselves , with such weapons as they have against him : If it be a State , it will defend it self by Laws , punishments , policies and power.

Seventhly , This self-defence , though it be earthly cannot be denyed them ; yea they will be justified in it , so far as it is rational , humane and necessary , and for the preservation of peace and common safety : Wherein any are cruel and revengeful , that is devilish also ; and then it is *the beast* , against *the beast* : But an humane care to maintain Law , Authority and Peace (though it be no more) yet it is good against a destroying spirit , that would bring in war and confusion , under the highest

highest notion of Religion and Reformation : The ordinary and common Ordinances of man ; are to be justified in acting against a Religion & Zeal, that seeks the subverting of them : The first is useful, necessary and profitable ; the other is hurtful and destructive.

Eighthly, The Law and Authority of a Nation, defending it self from this spirit, by its own weapons, being outward, must necessarily fall upon the persons, lives and liberties of them that are engaged in this spirit.

I am grieved in my soul for both, both wound my heart ; both the agents and patients : In love to mankind, I am afflicted for them, and feel the unhappiness of them, that are under a Law and necessity of so acting ; and them that are under a Law and necessity of so suffering : If either my labour and pains, or my knowledge and experience, yea or my life it self, may do any thing to cure this evil, and quench this flame, I should gladly expend them all.

And for you my friends, to whom in love and mercy this is directed, I know it will not only seem strange to you, but be very grievous to bear ; to find so great a spiritual enemy, in the midst of your spiritual gifts and

and enjoyments : I know you little expected it, and as little thought to find me the discoverer of it to you ; whom you have so much slighted : But know, this is the fruit of my long travels, and dangerous encounters with this enemy : With whom I have endured a long and tedious warfare, with great expence of life and blood, even in my soul and spirit ; and have received many desperate wounds in my inward man : while you lived at ease, and in pleasure, both outward and inward : You now have that cheap, which cost me dear : For alas, how much easier it is for you, to receive this conviction, from the hand of a weak broken man, in love and compassion to you : Then to receive it, as I have done, from an angry and jealous God ? How much easier, is it for you, to bear reproof from the experience of a friend ? then to conflict with this destroyer, hand to hand, and to grapple with all his malice, darkness and wrath, in your own naked souls and spirits ? which God knows I have done, again and again : I know you have had strange thoughts of me, I forgive you ; you might well think strangely of me, when you beheld me encompassed with the darkness and smoak of this bottomless pit : and sensibly lost and swallowed up by this enemy : But I have

have by the mighty power and goodness of God, escaped thorow many deaths and dangers, and yet live to communicate to you the benefit of my conflicts, sufferings and deliverance.

If you say, you intend not war and destruction to them which you oppose, but their repentance : See that you be true to this : I do believe many are wholly taken off from war, by the great experience we have had, of the beastly deceit, the horrible cruelty and corruption that hath attended it : And that the same honesty that led them out at first to engage in it, leads them now to abhor it, and to chuse rather to suffer, then by war to seek a deliverance : For the clearing and strengthening their spirits, in that way of peace, are these things writ : And to inform and instruct others, that are yet unconvinced.

We will then suppose, that you intend not to get liberty of Conscience by violence and war ; which was our first branch, but by a friendly agreement, with the present Magistrates and Governours ; this is our second branch.

If we desire liberty, first know, That it must be from the Magistrate ; for all liberty, Civil and Spiritual, is in his power, either to
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give or restrain : Liberty is the fruit that grows only upon the tree of Government, Law and Authority ; or is enjoyed only under the protection of them : Take away Authority and Magistracy, and all kind of liberty ceases ; we are presently exposed to the lusts of wilde and brutish men : Therefore they that are truly conscientious, are most faithful to Magistracy : 1. Because they are bound to obey, not only *for wrath*, as others, *but for conscience sake* ; in obedience to God, who hath instituted Magistracy, and ordained that power : And they know and feel the Providence and goodness of God, in the Magistrate, as well as the weight of his Scepter : 2. Because they may receive more benefit from him, then others ; liberty, not only for their outward man, but for their spiritual man also ; which others need not : 3. Because they being conscientious, are more tender then others, and so more subject to injury, then those that are not bound by conscience : The loose and prophane, need the Magistrate, to restrain and subdue their wills ; the conscientious, is his own Law, as to restraint, and needs the Magistrate only for his protection : So that indeed the sword of Authority, if rightly understood, the edge of it is against the loose
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and lawless life, and the peace and favour of it, is to the good and the godly.

The enemy of man, and author of confusion, hath brought forth much mischief amongst us; both to the Magistrate, and to the conscientious; in dividing one from the other; and setting of them against each other, which have but one root: For the Magistrate is the *Minister of God for good*, Rom. 13. 4. And conscience binds a man to subject to all the words and works of God; and to all things that are administred from him or by him: Upon a little sober consideration, this mist of error and mistake will be scattered.

But if the Magistrate give us this liberty of Conscience; then in reason and conscience we are bound to defend the Magistrate; that defends us in this liberty: And if we desire liberty of him, it is but equal and reasonable, that we should profess, that it is our judgements and consciences so to do: For we cannot expect he should give liberty to a conscience, that would destroy him and his Government. Wherefore *when men have professed conscience, in destroying and changing of Governments, there should be a Declaration and Profession against it, answerable to the evil done by it, or sufficient to wipe off that scandal.*

Q. S.

Secondly, If we desire *liberty of Conscience*, from the Magistrate, it must be either, in a way of *Reason*, or *Religion*, or *both*; if we seek it from him in a way of *reason*, we must admit him *a man, a reasonable creature*, else it is in vain to seek *reason* of him: If the Magistrate be *man*, he hath the image of God as *man*, and as *Magistrate*; which is to be beloved, honoured, and defended by us; not opposed, hated and destroyed: If there be *man* and *reason*, it is possible and likely we may agree with and unite to *man*; because we also are men of the same flesh and blood with him, and he with us: If we do not agree with our own *nature*, though under many defects, there is something *unnatural* in us; which we may call *Spiritual*, but if it be *Spiritual*, it is not divine nor *Christian*; for God loves *man*, is reconciled to *man*, Christ is a *man*, and loves his Brethren: If we confess them to be men, then we are to deal humanely with them, and to exercise *reason* to them, openly, clearly, fairly: If we think they err, we are in *reason* to go to them, and to inform them if we can, or to receive information from them: If we need any thing of them, we should reasonably propound our request to them: If both parties be men, and will exercise

ercise reason to each other, there will be an understanding and agreement; for there is but one reason in all men.

If we seek *liberty of Conscience*, upon grounds of *Conscience* and *Religion*; which is most proper, and most for the advantage of the Cause of *Conscience*, who hath most strength in his own Court; then we must conclude the Magistrate hath a Conscience: For if he have no conscience, he cannot consider conscience to give it freedom: If the Magistrate have a conscience, then,
 1. If we plead liberty of Conscience, he must be himself *free*, to exercise that *Conscience* in Religion and Worship: Can you then freely grant that to the Magistrate, which you desire of him? And let him in his way be as free from your tongues and pens, as you desire to be from his sword and officers: If so, then you must cease all railing, reviling and reproaching; for that, from the subject to the Magistrate, is persecution of the tongue, in name and dignity; as well imprisonment, from the Magistrate to the subject, is persecution of the body.

Object. *But ought we not to reprove evil, and testify against it?*

Ans. Yea according to the Gospel; which is to reprove them as Brethren, with

meekness, long-suffering, love, gentleness; but to speak evil of their persons and worship; not to them, but to others against them; is not to convince, but to defame, which to a dignity is to oppose, and so to overthrow it, and to set up your selves either against or above them: If so, you go beyond a Gospel-rule, which forbids to *speak evil of dignities*, and commands *to honour all men*: If it be not according to the Gospel of Peace and Love, then it is carnal strife, and will bring forth fruits accordingly: And will stir up answerable disaffection in the Magistrate: For him to restrain and imprison, is the same thing, with your opposing them, whereby you would restrain them, from setting up or practising what their consciences lead them to.

Observe this well, If you expect *liberty of Conscience to worship*, you must give *liberty of Conscience to worship*: And they that have liberty, to worship God in Jesus Christ, are part of his *House and Church*: If you and others will admit this, *That men walking in different wayes of worship, of one God, are all servants of that God, whom they worship, and so members of the body and of the Church, though under much darkness & many mistakes;* This alone will kill all enmity.

To enlarge your minds to this; do but consider, that which both your reason and your wants, will necessarily lead you to: For can you ask liberty of Conscience, of them that have no Conscience? If they have Conscience, they must have liberty to worship God: If they be worshippers of God in the name of Christ, they are Christians: And this they do; therefore they are members with us, though dead or corrupt members.

And as our reason and wants will lead us to it, so our judgements may well admit it: For the body of Christ, is this day most large, and the House of God, is *a House of prayer to all Nations*: The name of Jesus Christ, is published, received, and *believed on in the world*, and consequently called upon: And *all that call upon the name of the Lord are saved*; that is, according to the degree or measure of Faith, Religion, Obedience and Worship they exercise, so is their salvation; either outward, temporary and worldly, or inward, spiritual and eternal: For we plainly see that all men do worship God, and have some kind of Communion with him; They give him some service, and receive some good from him; life, and support, for that life, for the soul and body: Which doth not

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deny

deny the exercise of justice, either to God or men ; neither of temporary or eternal, civil or ecclesiastical ; but establishes all : For by admitting all, to this common priviledge, they are thereby subject to all divine, christian and humane judgements.

And either we must admit all Parties to this priviledge, or else we must admit them to no outward, civil or natural priviledge : For the *House of God*, and visible *body of Christ*, is more large then any Nation ; and the love of God to man, in Christ, is larger then any other law or light, civil or natural : The Spirit of Jesus is more merciful, long-suffering and gentle, then any other spirit : And therefore if we cannot admit them, to be partakers of Gods goodness in his House, we shall not allow them a place in the earth.

And they that pray against men, as enemies to God, as wicked and Antichristian ; they will also thrust them out of all rule and dominion ; and consequently, out of Possession in the earth ; and either destroy them quite, or reduce them to slavery : If this be considered, it is so vile a thing, that the nature of man will abhor it : And if it abhor the effect, it must also abhor the cause ; that *spirit and way*, that produces such cruel things in the earth.

And

And as it is vile in it self, so it engages Party against Party, to their utter destruction; and leaves no means of peace; which is most contrary, to all the grace of God in Jesus Christ.

It further follows, if we allow the *Magistrate a Conscience*, and *freedom* for his Conscience; we must allow him the Conscience, not of a *private person* only, but of a *Magistrate*: If he have freedom of Conscience as a Magistrate, he hath not only liberty of worship; but liberty as a *Magistrate*; to countenance, advance and promote that worship which he practises, and judges to be the worship of God: For every one is bound, as to worship God, so to be zealous for that worship, and to promote it: And every one in their place doth it: *Ministers* in their way, *Magistrates* in their way, and *People* in their way.

This then is the great difficulty, and the knot of the business, every Conscience requires liberty, not only for their practise, but for their zeal, to promote their particular way: This zeal wanting knowledge, and rule to walk by, and therefore in confusion; makes men clash, oppose and quarrel one with another.

It

It cannot be expected that I should at this time shew, the place and duty of all degrees and Parties, with their distinct bounds and limits ; it would require a Treatise by it self : I shall only say this at present : 1. I know, there is a holy, righteous, and a good Law, for all men to walk by, in their several orders and places , in the great House of God, without offence and hurt one to another. 2. There is work and employment for all, both *Magistrates, Ministers and People* ; to exercise themselves, and all the power committed to them, either *civil or spiritual*, against the common enemy of mankind, wickedness, unrighteousness and unmercifulness : And the Church of God , and the Nation , have both *need* of all their power and gifts , and of every good thing, that God hath made ; and *right* to them all. 3. While they oppose one another , the Church and Nation, doth not only lose the benefit of all these parts ; but envy , strife confusion, and so *every evil work*, is encreased ; and the poor nature of man and the Church is neglected and spoyled. 4. As all these gifts and Ordinances of God , are the *right of the Church* , so they all come from one head, from Christ ; of *whom* and *by whom*, are all powers, all gifts, Magistratical and

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Ministerial. 5. There is *one law, one way*, for them all, to employ all their power outward; and gifts inward *joynly*. 6. Herein only, can they all have comfort and honour, because herein only they can do good, and live in love and peace: And therefore, lastly it follows. (which I shall ever press) *There is a necessity of a friendly treaty and agreement of all Parties, of the ablest, largest and wisest of all Parties; to enquire for this excellent and perfect way and Law of God; which certainly, is compleat and sufficient, and will be manifest, to them that seek it; and to this Church and Nation, if they seek it as a Church and Nation, that is, joynly, all her parts and parties together.*

Till this can be obtained, or in order to this, let me desire you to consider; The extremes of zeal in promoting, every Party their way of worship, are visibly these two: First *on the Magistrates part*, by outward force and punishments, to compell mens consciences to his way: This I hope is past and gone: We have the word of a King for it; and if we thankfully and humbly receive the favour of it, we may have it continued and confirmed: The second is, *on the gifted ministry or peoples side*, their evil is, to promote their way by anger, wrath and bitterness,

ness, in preaching, praying, and writing : which are their weapons, as the Law and prisons are the Magistrates : And is the same evil in a finer and more spiritual way, and therefore last discovered, and last subdued.

If you should not be invited to peace by the clemency and mercy of the King, in giving liberty ; yet you ought *first* to cease from strife, and to seek peace, because you were last in war. 2. You are under punishment for it. 3. Your profession and gifts are greater : You seem to be nearer the Gospel, nearer to Christ, and therefore should first lay down your weapons of wrath, and seek peace : You should bear the evils and darkness, of them that you judge carnal and worldly. In doing so, you will have most peace, and honour, and soonest find deliverance.

I have been very large in this subject, much beyond the purpose of my mind, when I began to write : I know not well the reason of it : Since I have writ it, I am apt to think, there is need enough of it ; I am not without fears, that the great discontent and unmortified zeal of some, will put them upon foolish and desperate courses, if more reason and religion do not bridle their passions :

sions : Whether men are so mad or no, I know not, but this I am sure, that this way of enmity and opposition, defiles and pollutes Religion : It feeds upon the peace and comfort of mens souls : It fills the Nation with jealousies, and consequently with violence, distraction, and unsettledness : And is most prejudicial, to those honest, holy things, that your hearts are engaged to and for.

And therefore this is the conclusion of this matter ; I desire you and all men would take notice of it.

That if you, or any men, have any designs, for publick and Christian good ; Or any expectation of enjoying the blessing, favour and grace of God ; either outward or inward, for soul or body ; either for your selves, or for the Church of God : If you hope to have either peace in your souls, or peace and comfort in your places, honours, families and relations : Then *cease from strife, wrath and revenge* : For they that live in this fire of *wrath*, it will certainly consume them : For it is the displeasure of God : And although you may be the *rod* in Gods hand, to chasten and humble each other ; yet the *rod* must to the *fire* : Ye may thrive and prosper in it awhile, but its end is

to be destroyed : Cease to be a *rod*, cease to officiate under that great enemy of Christ, of man, and of peace, the destroyer.

Be warned by my experience : And know all men, That whatever you administer to others, shall be administered to you : With what judgement you judge, ye shall be judged ; and what measure you mete, shall be measured to you again : If you trouble and vex others, you shall be vexed and troubled : If you censure and judge to hell, you must come to feel it your selves : All the evil that I have spoken against any, even the worst of it, I have borne it my self ; and bless God for it : Therefore if the same righteous God judge you, as he hath done me, by the same Law and Word of Christ, as I know he will, in some degree or other. Then you must suffer upon your own souls, all those plagues and curses, that you denounce against your brethren, as Antichristian, as wicked and ungodly men : God did not spare his Son, but laid upon him that hell, and curse, and those woes, that he threatned against his enemies.

I know but one of these two wayes of administering the Law and Judgements of God : Either we must be such, as are indeed one with them, and so love them, and be willing our selves to suffer them : Or else such as do ad-
minister

minister the same to others, which God hath first administred upon us; and do it, with the same love and mercy, wherein he hath done it to us.

For if we ease our selves, cast off the curse and judgement to others, and load others, to free our selves: This is contrary to Christ: And therefore it shall not stand: For, 1. That life that so doth, is not a true Christian life; and therefore the curse that goes out from him, will return to him. And 2. That against which the curse goes out, may bear it awhile; but there is something also that is to be saved, though thorow suffering; and therefore that curse or punishment, which is discharged by any man, at another; when that good that is at the bottom arises, and comes forth, it will repell that curse, and then it returns to him from whence it came: For an evil or curse, once born, must rest somewhere; therefore if it find not rest, it will return to the first author of it.

All sides must consider this, There is in your enemies, the Royal Party, a Law, an Ordinance of God, a Providence, a humane nature, which is of God, and though it lie in much weakness, it will stand as a rock: And therefore all the arrows shot against them,

them, in passion and anger, will certainly recoil and wound the archers : And there is in you that now suffer, an innocency, an honesty, though under much error and mistake; and therefore the wrath and revenge administred against you, will return upon the souls, families and affairs of them that persecute you.

The reason and experience of these things, brings that notable Scripture to my mind, *Psal. 109. 16, &c. Because he remembered not to shew mercy, but persecuted the poor and needy man, &c. As he loved cursing, so let it come unto him : As he delighted not in blessing, so let it be far from : As he cloathed himself with cursing, as with a garment, so let it come into his bowels like water, and like oyl into his bones, &c. Let this be the reward of mine Adversaries, &c. (Of the adversaries of Christ, and of the Lamb of God) of Antichrist, the beast and the false Prophet : And of all that Kingdom of darkness; let that cursed Kingdom, sink from man and the Church, into its own place; let all cursing fall as water, into those bowels of hell, from whence they came; and so be swallowed up, by him that first brought them forth : The Spirit of Christ, that said this in David, will r. Do it himself, he will take the curse upon himself, and*

and swallow it, and hell and death into victory. And 2. will require it of others to do it; and will by his own power enable them to do it, or do it in them and for them: And thereby *destroy* him that hath *destroyed* the earth.

If we understand his holy and good will, we shall all learn to bear and digest the curse, and not inflict it: According to that most excellent rule, *Bless them that persecute you, bless, and curse not, Rom. 12. 14.* Learn this, bless, and *curse not*; no not the worst, not persecutors; not them that persecute the Saints. None but Saints can learn this; none are true Saints, but such as do learn it: The persecutors of the Saints, must be blessed by the Saints; by an holy, true, just, righteous mind; not feignedly and deceitfully, but really and truly.

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S E C T. XVI.

YOU are now in a sad and suffering condition : With my soul I pity you, and would gladly relieve you : It was my intent in my first, and is the same in this ; to shew you the evil of that state and spirit, that doth necessarily bring you into these miseries : For truly I have a fellow-feeling, both of your sins and sufferings, and of all men ; but of yours especially, having formerly been one with you : And therefore cannot but labour and travel to bring you forth into a way and state of safety and of peace.

You are now in affliction ; which brings forth in you, a *Confession* and a *Profession*.

1. A *Confession*, that you are justly and righteously punished for your sins. And
2. A *Profession* of suffering for Christ, and as Martyrs to the truth : These two are very wide in their natures, suffering *for sin*, and suffering *for Christ* : And therefore you should do well to consider, how they come to meet together in your present state.

It is plain and visible to all men, and I suppose now to your selves, that *Babel* or confusion, hath been in, and upon all your wars, counsels

counsels and designs : As it was in your *active* part, so it is in your *passive* part : The truth is, it hath and doth over-spread all the Nation, and all the affairs, wayes and actions of all Parties.

If there be *Babylon*, or confusion, in your sufferings, the *smoak* of her torment will more vex you, then the sufferings themselves : Because it is from the wrath of God, and therefore doth more torment then any thing : *To be clear and clean in any thing*, is great ease to the soul of man ; because the mind is of it self, a pure and clean thing : Wherein it is true and resolved, it can bear any thing ; but the darkness of confusion, so distracts, perplexes and confounds it, that it is not able to relieve or support it self : *To be true and sound in the lowest condition*, is better far, then to be false in the highest : To be iust, humble, honest and resolved in the first ; that is, in that which you confess, that this, is a punishment of your iniquities ; is much better then to form up the second, and to conceit that you suffer for Christ : For if you once come to be true, clean and right, in any one thing, you will by degrees be so in all things : And this humble plainness, and honest truth, is the first step to safety, peace and deliverance.

Therefore pray take heed how you *con-*
found these two : Your *Confession* of the
 justice of the hand and rod, that is upon you
 for *sin* ; and your *Profession* of a higher
 thing, suffering for *Christ* : I do the rather
 desire you to beware of it, because confound-
 ing these two, will not only entangle your
 minds, but continue the affliction upon you
 and so involve you in it, that you cannot
 come forth of it : For if this be a just cor-
 rection for sin, as you *confess* it is ; Then re-
 chuse this and to *glory* in it, as if it were the
Cross of *Christ*, must necessarily fix it to
 you ; as much as your own choice can do it,
 which certainly is not nothing : And it will
 entangle you the longer ; because one is
 contrary to the other, and works contrarily.
 For if God chasten for sin, the thing he in-
 tends is humiliation, and a sense of sin,
 which brings forth repentance, prayers and
 tears, and they bring forth deliverance.
 But suffering for Christ, is matter of great
glory and *rejoycing*, and is a strong justifica-
 tion of a person and state : And therefore
 works contrary to the former : *If when God*
expects humiliation, there be exaltation, it doth
ordinarily prouoke more stripes : Therefore
 pray consider seriously what I say, because
 it tends toward deliverance, which I do still
 prosecute.

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The sufferings of *Christ*, and of *his body*, which did all conform to him their head, were of this nature : First, they suffered voluntarily, they offered themselves a sacrifice, willingly and chearfully ; and not by constraint or necessity : They did not first resist, oppose, war, and suppress others, and then suffer, when they could fight no longer. Secondly, They were innocent as *Lambs*, never attempted any evil upon any people. Thirdly, They loved their enemies, and prayed for them ; *Christ* began, *Father forgive them, they know not what they do* : the first that followed him, *Saint Stephen*, did the like, *Lord lay not this sin to their charge*. And so the rest : And this, in faith and in truth, which made it effectual : They were very far from designing the ruine of their enemies. Fourthly, They suffered all for one cause, for the *Kingdom and patience of Jesus* : to witness, that this was the way to the Kingdom : That as *Christ* died and rose again, so they should likewise rise, and reign with him, if they suffered with him : I could say more, but I forbear : Consider your selves, and compare your present sufferings with his and the Saints of old.

If you do profess the Cross of *Christ*, and to suffer with him, do you not then desert,

either all, or the chief of those things you call principles, upon which you engaged : Is not this contray to fighting for the Parliament, or for the liberties of the people ? Is it not contrary, to your taking up the sword, and to your right of conquest by the sword, to raiging and ruling by force ? They are surely most contrary ; and therefore, Christ knowing he was to suffer, commanded *Peter* to put up his sword, and gave this rule for ever : *He that taketh up the sword (to defend himself from suffering, or to fight for Christ) shall perish by the sword.* Note, 1. We took up the sword at first to avoid suffering, and to deliver our selves and Party. 2. We now perish by that sword. 3. If we now begin to learn, what we then refused, we go back and repent of all these twenty years work : We may I think well do it, as it was our work, and therein justify both the righteousness of God in his works, and our honesty and innocency in serving of him.

This your *Profession* of suffering for Christ, will I think overthrow all your *active dispensation*, and if you be true to it, it will lead you to an open declaration, of the change of your minds, and to a faithful resolution wholly to commit your cause to God, and

and never more take up arms to deliver your selves, and destroy others : If you can do this; pluck up *this root of bitterness*, and cut out *this core*, it will be a great ease, both to your selves and the Nation : If you are able to pull it up, and remove it from you, by a full, honest and clear demonstration of your hearts and minds, that may be sufficient to satisfy the Magistrate : It will effect one of these two things ; Either it will overcome your enemies with love, and so heal all the distractions of the Nation. Or if they continue to persecute, after such a declaration of your minds, they will soon break themselves : For by love and patience, Christ hath and doth overcome all enmity, and will do so for ever, but it is the most certain and invincible strength that ever was.

When you prosecuted the King and his Party, *beyond bounds and measure*, you went into *confusion*; and there lost your selves : And if they should be guilty of the same thing, and pursue a weak, fallen people, beyond the measure set by God; the same *confusion*, will be in their affairs, that was in yours.

I think this of your present sufferings : That in a large and common sense, they are

the sufferings of Christ ; as the sufferings of all men are his , so far as they are humane , though weak : *In all their afflictions he is afflicted* : The sins and sufferings of all are laid upon him : *We all like sheep have gone astray , and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquities of us all* ; and as our sins , so our sorrows : *Surely he hath borne our griefs , and carried our sorrows* : Even of all Parties , and of the worst of all , not the godly only , but the wicked ; not the obedient only , but the rebels : *He made his grave with the wicked : Even for the rebellious , that the Lord God might dwell amongst them.*

Therefore we do see , that all Parties are enabled to suffer for that Cause they engage in : And do find mercy to pardon their sins , and strength to suffer death : The common resolution of a man , strengthened with the common grace of the Gospel , and with any measure of common honesty , or an opinion of the justice and truth of their cause , do carry men off the stage of the world , into death , handsomly and steadily : That some of you , that have suffered , have met with more peace , and more innocency , in suffering , then in acting : And more love , and comfort , in a prison and death , then in a corrupt , toylsome , and sinful life , in war and contests ;

contests; I do not wonder, and yet cannot magnifie it as Martyrdom.

This I am bold to affirm; That Christ hath not yet in these times, so clearly or visibly set up his standard, and gathered a people to it, into distinction from other men; as to commit his name, truth, and cross, wholly and only to them: Nor hath he formed a body, by any law, rule, spirit, or ministry, into an outward profession, under any visible characters, as he did in the Primitive times: And therefore there are none, whose sufferings can challenge this peculiar honour, of fighting under this standard, the *Cross of Christ*.

Therefore I do much fear, that this *profession*, and *glorying in the Cross*, will cost you dear, and involve you in deeper sufferings, then you are aware of: You will sooner come to a true feeling of your selves, and a sober sense of your condition, if you would sink down into your *confession*, and acknowledgement of the righteous hand of God upon you for your sins: And alas, not so much for your *personal* sins, as for the *evil state* and *spirit*, in which you have acted: Against it hath God very great indignation: I feel in my soul, God hath great pittie to your persons as men, and as his creatures
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and servants : And because as weak men, you have been deceived and misled : But that corrupt state, and that spirit that misled you, is judged for ever, and never can, nor shall recover.

It is not the lowness of a condition, that keeps a people down; but the unsoundness of it : Were we once true and single, we should find rest and peace, in the worst things, and deliverance out of them : The upright may and shall rejoyce, in the hottest fires, and soon come forth : But a false and unsound state, must fall from heaven, though it be exalted thither.

To fall under sin and shame ; to be humbled under the feet of the vilest creatures in the world ; to bear, first our own sins, and then the wrath, scorn, and revenge of all the world : Is nearer to Christ, shews more of innocency then to justifie our selves : For *the first part of true Christian righteousness, is to bear sin, to judge and condemn our selves, and to intercede for others : To justifie our selves, and condemn others, is very contrary to the Cross of Christ* : This may seem, and is strange to men, but the *mysterie of the Cross of Christ*, will open it to them that seek wisdom.

To conclude this point, I do judge, that as
there

there was confusion in your actions, so there is in your sufferings : And though you are much to be pittied, yet not to be justified in them, or for them : There is much mixtures in them : *Engagements and necessity, make men stout in their way : Naturally, what men cannot make good by wisdom and power, they will maintain by resolution in suffering : It is easier far, for men to do so, and die, then to repent : A false spirit and zeal will carry men out in suffering, even to death it self, as well as a true : Yea the anguish and pain, of so great a disappointment, will make men chuse rather to die, then to live in the shame and disgrace of it : Shame is the greatest affliction to some tempers : And therefore it is easier to die, then to yield, confess, and give glory.*

If there should be none of all this in your present sufferings, yet so long, as there is bitter envying, and strife in your hearts, glory not, and lie not against the truth, Jam. 3. 14. So long as you suffer, to bring others to suffering ; and are willing to endure for a time, that others might utterly be destroyed ; So long as you pursue your old design, of destroying, though it be, by and through this deep counsel of your own, suffering first ; Glory not as if it were the Cross of Christ :

You

You *lye against the truth*; against the true and meek suffering of the *Lamb of God*; which is not to destroy, but to save mens lives: Therefore neither your life nor death is like his; neither your Religion, Worship, nor suffering.

The rebuke of our Lord to his Disciples, is proper for you; when they would have had *fire from heaven to consume their enemies*, the Samaritans, because they opposed them, in their way; it is said, *Luke 9. 55. He turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of*: I am certain you know not, what spirit it is, that leads you in all this. Therefore as I have been and am against your actings; so I am against your sufferings, not only because they are impure and not evangelical; but because I pity both you that suffer, and them that inflict them: I know the nature of man, and of Christ, is sorely and grievously injured in both. And therefore it concerns me, and every good Christian, to do what we can, to deliver you, and them from this turmoyle: It is my desire, and must be my endeavour.

SECT. XVII.

I Had now concluded with a proposal for peace, had not this late Insurrection drawn forth my mind, to a consideration of it: Which although it be a very monstrous and strange thing, yet it doth so much agree, to what I have written in this Treatise, that I cannot but animadvert upon it, and enquire into the nature and reason of it.

I have largely discoursed of this spirit of wrath and opposition: And shewed the evil and danger of it: That if it be admitted into the mind, and into Religious exercises, in deprecating, cursing and condemning; it will reign, and not be confined; but will break out into war and open hostility, in pag. 162, 163. these words are opened, *Out of the Serpents root, comes forth a Cockatrice, and his fruit is a fiery flying Serpent: The old Serpent, the Devil, is the root of all malice: from him and his spawn, comes forth this hissing Adder or Cockatrice, cursing: If this be hatched in Religion, and fed with zeal and holy duties, it will soon get wings, and flame forth, in attempts to war: This is, I think, a natural and true descripti-*

on of this fiery flying Serpent, that flamed out and flew abroad in this late Insurrection.

It seems, while I was writing against it, the thing was hatching : I was by a secret spring in my mind, directed to write of that subject, not only beyond my thoughts, when I began to write, but contrary to the disposition of my soul ; which did often turn away from the consideration of such black, dark, and hellish spirits and practises : But though my mind be very averse from taking pleasure, in raking in such filthy sores, yet I could not resist the power and justice of that reason, that led me into a discourse of them : I see, *there is a secret intercourse betwixt reason, and the causes or principles of things : True understanding knows things, as fully in their causes, as sense doth in their effects : There is nothing so deep or dark, but it is subject to be seen and over-seen, by the light of right reason : True reason is the image of God, and one with that supreme wisdom that rules all things : And therefore will be justified and fulfilled, by him that is the head and Father of it.*

This I write not in the subtilty of wit, and Philosophical observation ; but in authority : And do require of all men, not only consideration

tion of, but subjection to the righteousness and truth of what is written : I know I am alone in what I write ; and not only singular, but something strange and different, from all mens present notion of things : I know also my person is mean and contemptible : Yet there is that justice, and truth of reason, in what I write, that I dare challenge, in the sight of God and man, that it should be considered.

What is truly reasonable or λογικόν, is both humane and divine, and therefore they that refuse it, must *first*, sin against their own mercy, their own life : For the word or reason of God, is our life, and that by which all men ; Nations and Kingdoms subsist : Therefore to depart from the rule and reason of our beings, must necessarily be, the confusion and destruction of that life, and being : And *secondly*, to refuse the truth of reason, is a sin against the most high, who is Lord and Father of that reason : And therefore if he fulfill his own image, his word and reason in man, then he must bow all states, and powers to it : Which he will certainly do, in justice to his own mind and law, and in mercy to men : For nothing is better for man, then that he should be ruled, by the law of his own nature, and by his reason

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enlightened from, and in union with, the divine and eternal mind.

I have some reason to urge this, because in the *Inquisition* I proposed unto his Majesty, and desired a tryal of mens' opinions, spirits and principles; by spiritual persons, and by the Law of God and reason; As the only way of curing the distempers of the Nation, which lie in the spirits and judgements of men: And are the roots, that bring forth these ill fruits, of rebellion: But it seems the proposal I made, was either unseasonable, or otherwise so weak and obscure, (I would blame none but my self) that it was not considered, or if considered, it was rejected by his Majesty: As it was neglected by his Majesty, so the other side, did exceedingly scorn and revile it, and me for writing of it: Whatever weaknels there be in the things there written, for which it may justly suffer, both neglect and contempt, yet there is that truth and reason in it, as will stand before God, and must be acknowledged by men: *For what is reason and truth, agrees with the rule and Law of the most high God, and therefore must sway and rule, all States and Kingdoms: And what is truth and reason, and so one with the eternal mind, will be either more true, or more evidently so, to*

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morrow then to day : And consequently that which refuses it, will be found weaker and worse by refusing of it : I sensibly find that both Parties are farther from that great blessing of peace and happiness, then they were before they refused it, and the Nation more disturbed : Let us enquire into the reason on both sides, and then possibly another Proposition of peace may find better acceptance : *If reason be so weak, as not to prevail, it will be confirmed and strengthened by experience :* And to our losses will become our advantage, if we be made wise by our failings.

Let us first observe the process of things.

After his Majesties return, there was by the sweetness and gentleness of his Government, a great calmness and stillness in the Nation ; and in a degree, in the most opposite : The trying, condemning, and executing of the prisoners, for the death of his late Majesty, stirred a new passion in the spirits of many people : And the execution, together with the resolution of the sufferers, revived a zeal, confidence, and boasting of their cause, and an extraordinary earnestness in their minds ; which was expressed in incessant meetings, discourses and prayers day and night : These passions and religious

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exercises,

exercifes, boyl up their minds, into new heats, which kindled this wild-fire, and at last blowed it up, into this open Infurrection.

That you may understand the reason of these things, let it be considered, what I have exprest in this and the former Treatise.

1. That God had a *controversie* with this Church and Nation, because of its sins, and its sinful state and standing; not with the things themselves, only as they stood in darkness and weakens.

2. God must have some to plead this controversy, with the Government and Governors of Church and State.

3. Those that he called forth for that purpose, he inspires and impowers, with spirit for that work.

4. The seat and subject of this spirit, and ministry, is the judgements and consciences of men: For men, by being inspired, and led into opinions and judgements, contrary to the received Law of the Church, are thereby fitted to be instruments in Gods hand, of his displeasure, to the Church: For the Church cannot be tried, but by such spirits and judgements, which differ from it, and are contrary to it.

5. They

5. They that are thus impowered for such a service, so far as they do the will of the most high Lord in it, are to be owned and justified : Though the office be never so mean, and never so contrary to the honours, wills and wayes of States and Kingdoms ; yet it is the rod of God, and must be kissed.

6. These ministers of this displeasure, have transgressed, exceeded their Commission, and exalted themselves in their service : And so corrupted themselves and defiled their work : This also is true.

Therefore there is, in them that have executed this displeasure, and in their consciences and work, something that is just, and something that is unjust and unrighteous : Till these are distinguished, there is no right judgement of them.

It must also be considered, and it is granted by all Divines, That the works of divine Providence and Government, are executed, by the administration of Angels : Both the standing and changing of Governments, is by the ministry of these principalities and powers : Therefore in the great revolutions of this Kingdom, both good and bad Angels have been employed : They being spirits, their proper sphere in which they move,

is the spirits and consciences of men.

Therefore it follows, that as there hath been in these great Providences, a righteous work of God, and with it much unrighteousness; so there are, both Angels of light, and of darkness, inspiring the minds and consciences of men: Now to administer justice upon men, that have acted in these things without any judgement made, of the principles and spirits, that have moved in them, cannot be thought to be perfect, nor a right way to cure our distractions: For outward punishments upon the body, will not remove the evils, that are planted by spirits in the consciences and judgements of men.

1. For all men know: First, That if there be but a little truth and uprightness, in any conscience, it will bear up the person, in the greatest outward suffering: Neither death, nor hell, are able to over-power, the least grain of honesty, in the poorest wretch that ever lived: That which is sincere, is able to live and triumph under many sins and sufferings: and will never yield till right be done to it.

2. Mens spirits and consciences, and the spirits that inspire and lead them, are above the reach of the secular sword, and only sub-
ject

ject to the Scepter of Christ, in his Church;
to the sword of the Spirit.

3. Conscience, though erroneous and seduced, will enable men, to suffer bodily punishment, imprisonment and death, with great chearfulness: And if they are laid upon men, without the means of conviction, they do harden men in error.

And therefore legal proceedings, only to bodily punishments, are not sufficient remedies to cure these distempers; The case of the Nation, under its present distempers, is certainly extraordinary, and far different from what it was an hundred or fifty years since: Great variety of spirits are gone forth, which have raised up the minds of men to a greater height of reason, religion and resolution: And old ordinary remedies, will not cure, new and extraordinary diseases.

If the Physick, be not proper to cure, and remove the disease, it will by stirring the humours, and enraging of them, make dangerous commotions in the body.

For if men, either from some measure of simplicity, be it in the least degree, and much mixed; or from some spiritual operation, be it of what kind it will; or from an erroneous conscience: If from any of these,

the sufferer be able to repell the Sentence of the Judge, and to glory in his suffering, and in a shew of righteousness, to triumph over death; he doth notably affront and wound that authority and judgement under which he suffers.

A man and his cause when he comes to judgement; is brought out into the open view of all men, and not only made publick, but he and his cause, is exalted, to endure a conflict and tryal with the Law: If the Law comes forth, with that brightness and majesty (that it ought) the man is condemned in his own conscience, and so justifies the Law, and submits to his sentence, and by this the Law and Authority is honoured: But if the person judged, stands clea^r in his own conscience, upon any account, and acquits himself, in the face of death (when all men ordinarily yield) such have a kind of conquest, and do seem to overcome the sentence; which must needs have an effect upon the people.

For people do naturally mind dying men, death is King of terrours; and it is a great thing to die, it raises men on high: And therefore in them that can die comfortably, and confidently, there is a great appearance of righteousness and worth; which doth
much

much affect the minds of people; some are moved to pitty the sufferer, and thereby his words and cause steals into their minds: Others are convinced, and drawn to the Party; Others are hardened and strengthened by it: For men think with themselves, I cannot live comfortably, but here is that which will make me able to die comfortably, and that is worth embracing.

That which makes the Magistrate to be feared and reverenced, is his power of *life and death*: That which makes men able to overcome death, secretly overcomes the Magistrate: For every one that goes out of the world glorying in his righteousness, makes a breath, both in death, and in the authority that inflicts it: And when it comes to be easie and familiar, as it will by a little practise, Authority and Magistracy it self will be, by such despised.

I shall commend to the Magistrate an Observation of mine own, concerning the nature of man: That he may consider what he governs, and how he ought to govern him.

Man is a noble and stout creature: There is so much of the majesty of the image of God in saln man, that he retains much of the greatness, though he have lost his goodness:

There lies raked up in this dust, an invincible spirit, that never will be subdued by force : God could never break the rebellion of the Israelites, by all his punishments upon them : And therefore sayes, *Why should ye be stricken any more ? ye will revolt more and more*, Isa. 1. 5. All the terrours of the Law, could never subject *Paul*, but he sayes himself, *When the commandment came, sin revived, and I died*, Rom. 7. 9. When the law came, with terrour against him, then sin roused up it self unto a desperate opposition : There being such stoutness in mans heart, that all the force of the *Law* could not subdue, God sent his Son, in love to this stout creature, to take his flesh, and so to soften and overcome it ; and in it, to destroy both *Law* and *sin* : This will shew us what is in man.

There is as much of this courage and greatness of spirit, in the English, as in any people under heaven ; which is very much awakened in these times, both by the wars, and by long liberty, and a free exercise of their minds in Religion.

For first, the people were inspired and empowered, to execute the determined displeasure of God, upon the Church and Nation, which exalted them, and subjected the Church and Nation under them : Having

(as

(as they think) judged the former state of Religion, they have opportunity and liberty, to erect several new forms of Religion, which is an act of spiritual principality and power, and not without zeal for God, and obedience to his Law : By these things, the genius of the Nation, and the natural stoutness of the people, is much heightened and encreased : And therefore to reduce them into that state, that they think they have judged ; and to destroy all their little principalities, set up in their consciences ; only by outward force, or by the meer letter of that Law, which they have condemned ; without a superiour Law, that judges them and their work, to my reason seems not only impossible, but dangerous.

Let the whole be considered, and it will be found ; That meer legal and outward punishments, upon such a people, so spirited and principled, so employed and exercised ; if their consciences and spirits be not first fairly heard, judged, and convinced, will inflame their minds into such a mad and desperate spirit, as appeared in the late Insurrection ; into hardness and insensibility of death and danger ; which is the greatest enemy to Government that can be : For it turns men into wild beasts, not to be ruled by humane

Laws :

Laws : And though they do attain nothing to themselves, yet they may give disturbance; and force the Magistrate from all humane and divine wayes, of love and gentleness, into violence and perpetual severity; and fill the whole Nation with continual troubles and distractions.

It is true, the Magistrate is bound by all bonds of Law, of reason and nature, to suppress and punish rebellion : But when the seeds of rebellion, lie in the mind and conscience, the *spiritual* sword is as necessary as the *secular*; and the one not effectual without the other : What is written in this Treatise, will I hope satisfie, them that will read and consider, that there is with us, in the Church, a spirit and understanding, that will reach the root of rebellion in the mind, and fully convince the conscience : Which being joyned to the civil authority, is sufficient to cure and heal the Church and Nation.

On the other side, I must desire the present suffering Partry, that were so highly offended at my Book, and at my proposition for the tryal of principles, that they consider how much lower they are now fallen : There was certainly a softness and unsubjectedness of mind, unsutable to their condition, expressed

in a glorying and boasting, of their old cause and state, which hath brought forth this contempt and suffering upon them. I do believe, that this late Insurrection, was the work of a few rash and unreasonable men. And do find, that all sober men do express a great abhorrency of the act, with resolution to wait patiently upon God for their deliverance. Which truly I rejoyce in. Yet the whole Party, lying under the shame of these mens folly and madness, they must seriously and deeply consider, how far they yet stand, unhumbled, and unconvinced, of those principles, that carried these men into this practise. Principles lie deep, and when once they get rooting in the mind, they are like ill weeds in a garden, not presently destroyed. Many times the judgement is enlightened against them; yet they have a root in the heart, which will spring up, if not quite eradicated. Their appearing in others, and the evil fruit they bear, is a good means to beget an utter detestation of them. To make you sensible of the hand of God upon you, and to help to clear your minds wholly of them, I only propound these queries to you.

1. First, Whether those principles upon which they acted, of the Cause and Kingdom
of

of *Christ*, and the honour and privilege of *the Saints*, above and against the world. Have not been received into the minds and spirits of most men (more or less) that have erected new Churches, and new Governments in the Nation?

Secondly, Whether the same principles, and the hopes of such things, be not that which fills your heads and hearts, with multitude of prayers and great confidences, that you shall yet prevail, and your enemies be destroyed? And so though your understandings be more prudent then others, yet whether the same things, be not yet in your faith, affections and duties?

Thirdly, Whether these spirits and principles, have not had a great influence, upon the whole business a long time? If so, then if they be not rooted out, by repentance and change of mind, they lie not still in the heart, though they seem not to act and appear?

Fourthly, Whether men being upon an extraordinary bottom, as the *Saints of God*, distinct from others; And exercising themselves in extraordinary duties; with extraordinary hopes and confidences, of extraordinary deliverances; Are not thereby disposed and prepared to attempt extraordinary things,

to attain these *extraordinary ends* ? If so, then you are drinking the same wine, that intoxicated their heads that rose ; only they are weaker , and you more able to bear it : Remember *Solomons* counsel : *Who hath sorrow ? who hath contention ? who hath babling ? who hath wounds without cause ? They that tarry long at the wine , they that go to seek mixed wine.*

Fifthly , Whether these high and great thoughts, upon future things, do not, 1. Lift up the mind, into an unsubmission unto this Providence of God, that layes you low, and exalts others ? 2^{ly} Alienate your minds from the present Government ? 3^{ly} Unsettle your spirits, to an unwillingness to peace ? 4^{ly} Deny you the use of your reason for your present safety ? 5^{ly} And draw your minds from the present duties of love, forgiveness, subjection to authority, and to such plain, honest things, that the Law of God, and the moral reason of man leads him to : I have found much evil in this *false Prophet*, who carrying out the mind , by false representations of future things, and filling the head with them, leave no room for the exercise of our Reason or Religion upon present things.

I do hope, you do by experience see, how these

these high strains, swelling the mind with spiritual pride, leads it into irrational and destructive ways: It hath done so from the beginning, and doth so still: My only end in this, is to improve this experience, to humble your minds, to take you off from these deluding spirits; And to bring you to a sober sense of your selves, and of the present state of things: And to prepare you, for a rational and Christian proposition of peace, which I shall now commend to you; and to all the Nation.

SECT. XVIII.

THe Church and Nation is miserably broken and divided: Division is at first into *two* parts; and where it begins it ends: I shall therefore consider but *two* great parts of the Nation: First such as are for the present Government and Governors of Church and State, as now it stands by Law. Secondly, Such as differ from either, be it more or less: Presbyterians, Independants, Anabaptists, Fifth-monarchy men, Quakers, or any others: I would refuse none to treat with them: Peace is comprehensive, and is a plaister,

plaister, as large as our sores are or can be : I have already shewed some reason, why peace, if it be true, must comprehend all.

If there be a *peace*, it must be an *agreement* ; There cannot be an *agreement*, but by *understanding* of one another : There can never be an *understanding* one of another, without a *treaty*, and a fair or friendly debate.

My Proposal in my former Book, was, to his Majesty ; this I direct immediately to you, that are by your disaffection to the Government in affliction ; possibly the sense of your troubles, may make you willing, to seek to his Majesty for *peace*, and in order to it, for a *bearing* and *treaty* : which is the thing I move for.

First give me leave to suppose, that you are *men*, *reasonable men* ; and therefore able to give a *reason* of your way, and to receive and understand *reason*, if it be offered to you ; And being so, you are fit to treat, and fit to be treated with : And you having reason, ought to exercise it in treaty ; and it is as due to you, that you should be reasonably treated, and used as men, and not as beasts.

As I suppose you *reasonable*, so give me leave to suppose your adversaries *reasonable* : And
so

so able, both to give a reason of what they do, and to hear reason against it.

It is a very small charity, that I beg of both sides, that you would think your adversaries *reasonable* creatures, and to be *treated* accordingly : Yet if I could obtain this, that you would so speak, think, and do ; we should have one stone laid of peace : And a good ground to begin upon.

Both Parties being admitted to be *reasonable*, which cannot be denied, without great breach of that common charity, that is due betwixt men and men : This will bring men, to exercise this reason, one towards another, and to lay aside brutish rage, and womanish passions.

Consider in the next place, that the matters of difference, and to be agreed, are things *subject to reason* : I intend to propound for the present, only *civil peace* and agreement, laying aside *matters of Religion*, till this be attained : Matters of *Civil peace*, in order to *mutual safety*, are things, within the compass of all mens *reasons* and *natures* : All Nations have and use this *reason*, and by it attain *peace* both amongst themselves, and with other Nations : Nations that are at the greatest distance, in their natures, tempers and religions, do *agree*, and that meerly by the use

use of that *common reason* that all men partake of : And why *English-men* should not have so much *reason*, as to understand one another, and agree together, I know not.

Let us therefore take as clear a view, of the divided Parties as we can, and let both sides be reasonably considered : For it is the mist and cloud about us, that confounds and disturbs us.

On the one side, there is *his Majesty*, Nobility, Clergy, and the people of the Nation : And with them Authority, Government, and Magistracy, both of Church and Commonwealth, which are great *Ordinances of God* : And these standing upon a firm, stable foundation of *Law*, deeply rooted, in time, custom, and in the minds of people : And all now restored and exalted by a *mighty Providence*, and guarded, by the same hand that restored them.

And therefore in reason ; First it is as *impossible* to remove them, as to extirpate the English Nation : Reason and experience confirm it : And secondly, it is an *irrational* and *unsafe* thing to attempt it : If it be *irrational* and *unsafe* to attempt it, it is not *rational* to think or imagine it : Nay, it is not honesty or truth of mind, to fancy or think, what is in it self unreasonable and impracticable.

practicable. If now mens minds depart from reason, into persuasions or conceits of things, upon a divine account, for which they have no certain, humane or spiritual ground, they will be deceived.

But this state of the Government is not represented only to deter from attempting upon it; but to gather your minds toward it: *The rest, safety, and comfort of all mankind, is in Law, Authority, and Government:* This Government was of old, and is now restored in the Nation: In it, is your safety, peace, and protection: It is there, and nowhere else, for you and all others: If you reasonably and justly challenge it, you cannot be denied it: If there should be found an evil spirit of revenge, that should refuse to give it to you, being justly sought: That evil spirit, shall be discovered, and manifested to be the spirit, not of the Government, nor Governors; but of some dark, envious, peevish minds: And it shall appear to be, as contrary and destructive to the Government and Governors, as it is to your safety: Therefore the reason why you have not this peace and safety, is because you fly from the Government, and so from your shelter and harbour; either ignorant of it; or jealous and fearful of it.

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This I think is a reasonable account of one Party, I would now represent the other Party, as justly and rationally as I can: The many sects that stand out against the present Government, at least of the Church, are, together with the Presbyterians, who are engaged in an opposition, a large people, a great part of the Nation: And very considerable, both for number, for their activity and resolution; for their courage in military affairs; for their parts and abilities in civil affairs; for their zeal and gifts in Religion: And now being under *one* and the *same* dislike, disappointment and suffering, melting again into *union*.

As the Law and Government of the one side, is so rooted in the earth, that it is not to be removed, by any humane means; so these several sects are deeply rooted in the judgement and conscience; and all of them are founded in some spirit, that hath authority from God, over the conscience; be that spirit or authority true or false, I dispute not now: But they are, by some authority, under the name of God, fixed and bound in their several wayes: And therefore not possibly to be removed by any secular or worldly power.

It is as irrational and impolitick, for a

State, to seek by power, to suppress, or wholly to extirpate such a people (fixed unto death, in their judgements) as it is for those people to seek the overthrow of government : Not only because it is against policy, interest or reason of State, to discommon and cast out of protection, or otherwise to provoke into despair, so great and mighty a people : But it is also against the very nature of man, and more against the nature and being of Government and Governors, to seek the ruine of so great a part of the body : and therefore it cannot be imagined to be in the Magistrate : Neither can the Magistrate entertain such a thought, without committing a greater absurdity, then for the common people to attempt the overthrow of the Kingdom : For the undertaking of impossible things, and things destructive to humane and civil peace, are much worse in publick persons, then in the people.

But as on the other side, I represented the state of the Government as immoveable, not only to deter from attempts against it, but to draw the people to it ; that they might be protected by it : So do I represent these dissatisfied and divided people, strong and immoveable, not only to dissuade from designs against them, but also to encline the Magistrate

strate to them : For as *safety* and *protection* is by the Providence of God ordained in the hands of *Governors* and *Government* : so the same mighty Providence, hath disposed the *peace*, *rest*, *security*, and strength of the Nation and Government, in the minds, affections and spirits of such a people : It will be easily seen and understood, if it be but considered ; That there is this day, no rational or visible cause or danger of disturbance, to the Nation, but our own divisions ; neither from our selves, nor from abroad : For as none can hurt us but our selves, so nothing amongst our selves can hurt us, but our own divisions.

And therefore, as the *safety* and *protection* of the subject, is in the Law, Government and Magistrare ; so the *rest*, *peace* and *security*, of the Government and Nation, is to be had, from a *union*, of such a people, so divided and disaffected as now they are.

It is clear then, that each of these Parties, as they are now disposed, are able to confer upon each other, and upon the whole, the most excellent blessings ; On the one side, *protection*, *safety*, and subsistence ; on the other side, *security*, *rest* and settlement.

Let us now consider, Whether both these Parties are willing to give , and to receive these things from each other : For if both be willing, both to give and receive ; then there is a foundation laid in them of peace.

In reason, both Parties must be willing to have these great blessings, because neither can subsist without them , or not comfortably.

It is manifest his Majesty seeks security and peace, both by the imposing the Oaths , which is but to oblige the people to quietness and obedience : And by restraining and imprisoning, those that may be suspected , to make disturbance : It is as manifest likewise, that he is willing to give safety , protection, and liberty to these people ; witness his *gracious Declaration* : But beyond all these, the reason of State , and nature of Government, binds his Majesty, to be willing , both to give safety, and receive security.

The question then is on the other side , Whether they are willing to give *security*, and receive *protection* : I think, it is not to be questioned, but that they will be glad of protection : And they cannot expect protection, where they will not give reasonable security for their Allegiance : As reason, nature and religion lead them to do it , so
there

there doth appear, in most of them, a readiness to do it, if they knew how to do it.

Both Parties being willing to receive, and give these blessings, of *safety* and *security* to each other : It is then to be enquired, Whether there be any thing, in either Party, that may let or hinder them, from these mutual benefits ? Two things may be suspected.

First, That there may be some opinion or doctrine in Religion, that may imbondage mens minds, and keep them from yielding or receiving this good : I do hope and believe, that there is no opinion amongst us, so inhumane and absurd, as to debar us, from the exercise and practise of natural and civil duties : If any such be whispered, or privately suggested, there is enough in every mans own reason, religion and nature, to teach him to abhor it : But if it should be, in mens private fancies, I am sure if it come forth in any debate, it will quickly be answered and rejected : An open treaty or conference will expell it.

Another thing that may hinder, is jealousy, prejudice, and enmity begotten by these wars, by the different forms of worship, and the opposite tempers of their minds and spirits : But these are all, a mist or dust,

which only darken at a distance : As soon as the Parties come near one another, their own natures and reasons, together with the necessity and benefit of *safety* and *peace*, will dissipate these clouds : Being weak, dark passions, they will vanish before the strength of more solid and substantial things.

The lets being removed, there is no doubt of the sufficiency of *reason*, to instruct both Parties in a way, how to communicate one with another, so that they shall be understood, received and believed by each other : For if both Parties are heartily willing, to do that for each other, which is proposed, they are able to say, *how*, *why*, and upon *what conditions*, they think reason to do it : And this being reasonably propounded, reason also will accept it : For God never yet left man, so void of understanding, and knowledge one of another, nor so void of confidence, and trust in one another, but they had power both to consent and agree, and to gain belief and confidence one in another : Though the envious man, hath filled the Nation with great enmity and division, yet sure we are men still ; he hath not rob'd us of our nature ; there is still with us, that reason, prudence, and faith, that is common with the most heathenish or barbarous Nations in the earth. It

It may be thought rather, there is too much subtilty and policy, and that this may hinder an accord : There is more danger of it : But surely, if there be much Serpentine cunning, there is more true wisdom ; for the good, is stronger then the evil, and will prevail : I am sure there is more light and stronger reason in love, then in hatred.

Thus far we are gone ; Two opposite Parties in the Nation , both so firmly rooted in the earth and in heaven ; that it is an unreasonable thing to think , that one should remove the other by force, without destroying the whole, and themselves also : And these so considerable , that they may confer upon each other, the greatest blessings that belong to humane society : Both want, what each other have to give ; neither can rationally have it elsewhere : Both willing to communicate, and able to communicate ; The question now is, how we shall begin , and how mannage this Treaty, so as to effect and perfect this disposition.

I have hinted in the *Inquisition* , that the divided Parties of this Nation are distinct bodies ; The Presbyterian , Independant , Anabaptist, &c. these are formed by distinct Laws and Doctrines : And have some principal men, that are their *heads and leaders* ,
these

these do comprehend their several Parties :
*(It was ill taken , that I should mention them
 in my former :* Alas , that divine justice,
 which my soul would have prevented , hath
 it self now *hunted* them , and they are *earthed*
 now in holes) It is necessary that these
 should stand forth for themselves and Party,
 to treat for them , and to bring forth the
 principles and state of the Party for them :
 Consider *now* the equity and reason of this
 offer.

First, You that are the heads of the people, have led them into war, and consequently into these miseries, in which now they lie : And by your evil conduct , they and the business have miscarried : And therefore in reason and conscience, you ought to appear for them : If there be any thing of courage, justice, or love to the people, or any thing of a publick spirit in *you* ; *you* are bound to do the utmost you can, to deliver the poor sheep out of these brambles, into which you have led them.

Secondly, such is the state of things, that if there be any disturbance made in the Nation, though you are not in it, yet you will be ever liable to be suspected and imprisoned : Till you have done something towards peace, and securing the Government, answerable

swerable to what you have formerly done against it.

Thirdly, His Majesty cannot have any rational security, either from particular persons, or from broken pieces of Parties; but from the whole Party united; and that cannot be rationally done, but by them that are the heads of those Parties, who do probably contain the whole Party in them.

Fourthly, The people are certainly willing, both to receive protection, and to acquiesce in the present Providence of God: And therefore there wants nothing, but some prudent and publick persons to form them, and lead them into it: And if there be compassion in you to them, as I believe there is, that will put you upon this honourable and Christian work.

We are now come, I think, by the conduct of honest and sound reason, to the thing to be practised, which I hope is safe and just, and every way rational and Christian; It is but this.

If any two or three eminent and known men, of any Party, either from conviction of what is here written, or from their own dispositions; and from a knowledge of the minds of their Party, or a probability of their consent; shall be willing, in order to
their

their own safety, and the peace of the Nation, to satisfy *his Majesty* concerning their intentions to live peaceably under *his Majesties* Government ; They may in a Petition humbly represent it to his Majesty, and may beg, that his Majesty would be pleased to appoint certain Commissioners, and impower them, to treat with them, and with all others that shall desire it, concerning these two things :

First, Upon a full consideration, of what hath passed in the Nation, what satisfaction or security his Majesty may rationally demand, and they as rationally give, for their Allegiance, and peaceable subjection, unto his Majesty and Government : and,

Secondly, Upon satisfaction and security given, how that liberty of conscience graciously declared by his Majesty, may be stated and confirmed to them ; that so they may enjoy the benefit and comfort of it free from disturbance, from the people, or inferiour Officers.

Both these are honest, reasonable, and profitable things, and no man of truth or integrity can be ashamed, or afraid to appear in them publickly : They carry their justification in their face.

A Treaty betwixt opposite parties, after a long

long and great division and war is *ordinary* : And if the difference be not only in affection, but judgement and opinion, it is *necessary* : because otherwise, they cannot come to an understanding of one another, and consequently never come to a hearty agreement.

It is also probable, that the desired end, peace and safety to both parties, will be attained by it : For it is apparent, that his Majesty wants and seeks security, and rest in his Government, after his long troubles, and sufferings : And after so great wars made against him, and so great violence done to him, he may justly require good security for the future : Nothing yet hath been done towards it, by the party that acted with vigor against him : But on the contrary, have manifested great displeasure and dissatisfaction at his return to his Government.

As his Majesty cannot but seek security, so the ordinary old established way of Oaths, enjoined by Law, and the penalties annexed, seem to be very insufficient remedies : For they have been found by sad experience, too weak to bind men to their allegiance : Oaths, though they are sacred in themselves, yet we have found them very invalid in this Age, and strangely violated on all sides : If they are
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not ligaments sufficiently strong, to bind the parts together, and prevent a fraction ; when the fraction is made, they are less able to heal it : Besides at this time they are offensive to many, that are otherwise willing to give full security and satisfaction for their subjection.

Neither can it be thought, that a bare verbal declaration for Magistracy, though it be honest, and so accepted ; that it alone, should be sufficient to give full ease to his Majesties mind : Such confessions, I doubt are too weak to heal wounds made by long wars and disaffections : To profess for Magistracy, is not a sufficient satisfaction or reparation, for a war against a Magistrate, because he is an enemy, or of another way of worship : For the question is not, nor never was, Whether a Magistrate or no : But there is an enmity begotten, and propagated by long war, which requires more then a verbal profession to heal it.

That his Majesty needs, and may justly require security, cannot be denied : That no means sufficient, is yet used, is manifest : that the people are willing to do it, hath been proved ; and that it is possible to do, in this case, what men are ready to do, is not to be questioned : That this means propounded,
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by a Treaty is probable : It will appear, if we consider, the advantage of a Treaty, both as to right understanding, removing objections, and communicating affections, whereby ordinarily enmity is expelled, good will, union and agreement of hearts and minds is obtained ; but besides these generals, this main thing is to be considered.

That in such a Treaty, it will not be hard to bring forth the roots, seeds, and principles of all the war and contention that hath been ; and consequently of future rebellion, in the Nation ; and to offer them up to his Majesty.

The reason, why it will not be hard to do this, is because : First, The judgement decreed upon the Church and Nation, is executed, the ministry of wrath and war is ceased : 2^{ly} The state and spirit, in which, and by which it was administred, is corrupted, and by spiritual men, loathed and abhorred : 3^{ly} And consequently, the enmity, at the root of it, is slain, though it still disturbs ; yet in the hearts and judgements, of sober men, it hath received a deep and irrecoverable wound : Therefore it is very possible and easie, to produce the cause and reason of the late war, with the righteousness and unrighteousness of both sides : And with it,
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all the seeds and principles of civil enmity, and division, which may possibly beget any disturbance for the future.

If these roots of war, be pulled up, and sacrificed, it will be the best *bona-fire* that ever was made in *England*: And will give the fullest satisfaction to his *Majesty* that can be desired: For by it his *Majesty* will be secured of the hearts and minds of his subjects.

If his *Majesty* shall be pleased to answer such a petition, and to appoint certain moderate, and understanding persons, acceptable to these people, and so apt to entertain a Treaty with them; We may in reason expect, that such a door of safety being open, all parties will be glad to enter in at it: And if the chief of them can gather up the rest of the people, into a consent and agreement with them in this work; they will be able to offer a valuable consideration, for their safety and protection: That may really deserve, both *liberty*, and *subsistence* also out of their purchases.

If this be carried on by judgement and conscience, and from a mind enlightened and convinced: We have no cause to fear, that it will not be understood, received and believed by his *Majesty*: For what is done in light, is evident

evident to all: *An Epistle seen and read of all men*: When the mind is truly convinced, it is easie for it, to give forth such a declaration of it, as is sufficient to convince another, that it is convinced: And such a declaration coming from reason and from the heart; his *Majesties* heart cannot but feel it, and rejoyce in it: It being the only thing in the earth, wanting, to make his Government fully happy.

Security being given, or ready to be given, by these people; the *second thing*, their *liberty and safety* comes naturally: Indeed it is already granted, and declared by his Majesty, it only wants to be (by such a Treaty, and some Articles) so explained and confirmed, that the people may receive the benefit of it.

If these two things, which are truly and really conceived, in the hearts and natures of both sides, may be brought forth; it will be a blessed foundation, of great good to the Nation and Church: And a present ease to the minds, of *his Majesty*, and of his people; and will fill the whole Nation with pleasure and content: For of all things, love and peace, have the greatest felicity in them to a people: As discord betwixt brethren or relations, is most grievous, so love that unites
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enemies is the most pleasant and contentful. Such a meeting of hearts and minds in peace, will bring forth some more then ordinary good, to the English Nation; which are from their own dispositions, inclined to love, and to an encrease of it, unto a kind of excess, when once they begin.

It is said, *Isa. 9. 5. Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood*: Such yet is the state of the Nation, *confused noise* there is, and *garments rolled in blood*: which do disturb the minds of men, and makes them uncapable of the government and peace of *Christs Kingdom*: But if by this means propounded, a *civil peace* may be obtained; it will be a beginning and foundation, of a more heavenly and spiritual *peace in the Church*: It is true, this seems to be first necessary, but if this were obtained, I could demonstrate the other as rational and possible as this, and more: Because the *Law and reason of Religion* is more large, more forgiving, healing and uniting, then *Civil Law or Reason*: *A union and peace in the Church, is promised and commanded in the Scripture*: Nothing is promised that we may not challenge and expect; nothing commanded but what is practicable.

Something I may affirm upon my particu-

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cular experience : For I have gone as far in the way of separation, from the Church of *England*, I think, as most men, and prosecuted it as heartily : And yet my mind is now, and hath been long enlarged to own and embrace the Church of *England*, and Episcopal government : I did not alter as a *knave*, as a *fool*, nor as an *enemy*, to them that differ from me : Not as a *knave*, for my mind altered, when Episcopacy was at lowest, and hath so continued ever since, in many troubles, without change : Nor as a *fool*, I confess I have received it from heaven, yet so as is fully demonstrated to me, from reason and Scripture : Nor as an *enemy*, For Episcopacy, as I understand it, is a tree so high and large, that all these birds, that now flee from it, may make their nests in the branches of it, and be nourished by the fruit of it : And that, not by clipping the outward honour of it, but by enlarging and exalting of it, into its own true heavenly light and glory. This I find and know by experience,; what several sects, seek in their private and divided wayes, they shall never enjoy, but in the Church; there only they will find rest for their souls : But these things shall rest till their season be to come forth.

The thing that is here propounded to you,

that are my Brethren, and now in suffering, is so essentially necessary, in my judgement, for your safety, and the peace of the Nation; that if I knew any thing that might hinder you, from accepting and prosecuting it, as the means of your deliverance, I would remove it: There are but two things that I suspect.

The first thing I doubt, is lest your high apprehensions of some extraordinary matters promised in the Scriptures, and drunk into your thoughts, should cause you to adhere to your former opposition, and so divert you from the plain path of peace and safety. To answer you in this; Know 1. The things that you expect, both are, and will be manifested; and far more, and greater then you imagine. 2. But never to be obtained by enmity and wrath, but by love, peace, and by the good Spirit of Christ. 3. It is a false Prophet that holds forth greater and future things, to restrain from an exercise, of present and plain duties. 4. I desire you to consider and remember, that though these high strains have got up into your prayers, and private discourses; yet they never were of any power, in your great business: You will find, that the strength of your cause, as it was urged by the Parliament, against the King; and the Army, against the Parliament;

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lay in these low and common things, of *safety, necessity, and the interest of the best Party*; and at the highest, *providence and success*: Consider now, Whether the same principles, do not now urge you to peace, that carried you to war? and more strongly and justly?

For *safety and necessity*, it is both seen and felt; that if you persist in an opposition, to the present Government, you will ruine your selves and families; except a miracle appear for you: You have no true ground nor faith for miracles, if you have any, you may sooner expect them in a Gospel way, of peace, reconciliation and perswasion, then of war.

And for *Providence*, it now directs you to agree with his *Majesty*: For the great *Providence* of his restoration, hath eaten up, all your lesser *Providences*; as *Aarons rod*, eat up the Egyptian Magicians rod: And all your *success*, is now in the belly of this: If then, *safety, necessity, interest and providence*, could then lead you to make war; and the same things cannot now prevail with you, to seek peace; it will seem a dangerous and foul spirit: To delight in war, that is bloody and spoyling, unclean and filthy, and to decline the humble and meek way, of reason

son and treaty, is not Christian.

The second thing I doubt, is your confidence in the multitude, and earnestness of your prayers : And to that, I propound the words of our Lord, which are of eternal authority, *Mat. 5. 23, 24. If thou bring thy gift to the Altar, and there rememberest, that thy Brother hath ought against thee ; Leave therethy gift, before the Altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift :* The divine reason of it is this ; God is the Lord and Father of all men, they are all his family ; if any one of his children or servants, injure another, and the injured person cry to him, this cry comes up to him, and is there put in, as a bar or plea, against that mans prayers, till he make satisfaction : For God is just, and doth right to all men. Now you know, there is a cry gone up against you, for the oppression of the Nation : All Parties, as well as your adversaries, have something, yea much against you : And therefore, mark what I say, I speak it as a *Priest unto God*, that do minister in his presence ; and as a *Minister of the Word of Jesus* ; till you can do these two things : First, *forgive your enemies*, as heartily and truly, as you desire God to forgive you. And secondly, *ask forgiveness of them*,
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wherein they have ought against you. Till these two things be done, I put in a bar against all your prayers; were they ten thousand times more then they are, they shall not prevail.

Read but what follows, ver. 25, 26. Agree with thine adversary quickly, while thou art in the way: Lest at any time the adversary deliver thee to the judge, and the judge deliver thee to the officer, and thou be cast in prison: Verily I say unto thee, thou shalt by no means come out thence, till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing: Your adversary is your judge; the more reason to agree with him: You must either agree, & compound, or stand it out: If you stand out, you must pay for all those years of trouble and vexation, that you inflicted upon your enemies; for all the poverty, ruine and destruction, you laid upon them and their families: If you stand upon your righteousness, all must be paid to the utmost farthing: It is a great debt.

Except by forgiving, and seeking forgiveness you agree, troubles and disturbance, will offend the Nation; and then jealousies, bonds and imprisonments will attend you: Till satisfaction be made for former injuries, to the last farthing.

If you desire peace and safety, read this last

last Section diligently, till you have made it your own: If you desire either further satisfaction, or my assistance, I am ready to serve you.

Reader,

I Promised thee, in the beginning of this Treatise, a discovery of my life and state. Thou hast *some parts* of it, scattered here and there: But *the whole* I must reserve to some further opportunity: Because this hath swelled into a greater bigness, then I did at first intend it: And the matter of it is such, that I judge it necessary to be first published.

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